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# The New REPUBLIC

January 1, 1945

## World After the War

*The first of a series of Editorials*

Bloc or Union in Europe? . . *Maurice Edelman*

How Russia Finances the War . . *Jerome Davis*

The B-29 . . . . . *Bruce Bliven*

"Many a Watchful Night" . . . *Stark Young*

## Crusade Against Planning

*by Alvin H. Hansen*

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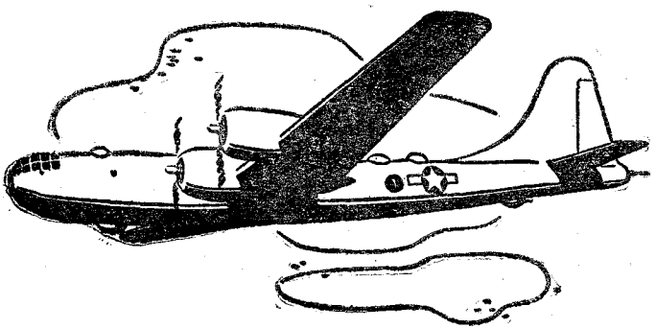

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# THE NEW REPUBLIC

*A Journal of Opinion*

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# The World After the War

## I. Boundaries

WHILE THE WAR in Europe has recently been going badly in a military sense, it has been going even worse in a political sense. A sharp difference of opinion has appeared between the United States on one hand and Great Britain and Russia on the other, over the future boundaries of Poland. The United States, if we can judge by press comments throughout the nation, is opposed to British policy in Greece. It is possible that the Russians have made an agreement with the British which forbids them to engage in public criticism of the Greek policy, but it is hard to believe that the Russians are not, privately at least, as critical as the Americans. Russia and France have signed a treaty of friendship, and while the British are putting on a good face about it, it is clear that at least the Tory element in the government is disappointed, since this development upsets their plans for a West European bloc which would certainly be considered throughout the world as being in greater or less degree hostile to Soviet Russia and designed to confine her main European sphere of influence to the East. There is deep political unrest in Italy, Belgium and in Spain, where the position of Franco seems to be growing precarious. There are other disputes which will show themselves the instant the war potential has relaxed sufficiently to make this possible. For example, Hungary and Rumania both want Transylvania. Yugoslavia would like some rectification of her frontier. There is even talk of a restoration of Macedonia, despite the fact that the Greeks dumped into that region a large part of the people received by them at the time of the exchange of population with Turkey.

If the Russian proposals were to be carried out, Poland would lose her territory east of the Curzon Line, including, apparently, the city of Lwow, which, as Walter Lippmann says, is predominantly Polish, but is situated in a territory predominantly Russian. Russia would get the northeastern section of East Prussia, including Königsberg, Poland taking the rest. Poland would also get, if she wanted it, part of Germany itself, the territory suggested being Pomerania and Silesia as far west as the Oder River. In addition, the question of Germany's western boundaries is under discussion. The Netherlands government has said it will demand territorial compensations from Germany for the Dutch area ruined in the course of the war by the breaking of the dykes. The French are debating whether to take the left bank of the Rhine or perhaps both banks, or to demand that this territory be internationalized or become an independent country. It will be remembered that after the last war France spent a lot of time and trouble trying unsuccessfully to foment a Rhineland separatist movement.

What should Americans think about all these proposals? And what should they try to do about them? Let us hope they will approach these questions with

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proper humility, realizing that we must bear our share of the responsibility and that our past policies have been similar to those we now tend to criticize.

The first thing to note is that excessive nationalism, in any country at any time, is an unmitigated curse and should be fought with all the weapons at our command. It is a breeder of trouble and is usually fomented for that reason. We should work toward a Europe in which the peoples of various countries emphasize what they have in common and not their differences. The greatest aid to this is a prosperous Europe in which people are too busy working at their jobs to quarrel with one another. Boundary disputes, for example, are nowadays usually an expression of nationalistic policy rather than a manifestation of simple greed. Land is demanded not so much because you want it yourself as because you want to keep the other fellow from having it. The argument regarding frontiers as a military protection is losing much of its force now that airplanes go at 300 to 700 miles an hour and motorized equipment can move at 60 miles an hour. Thus boundary demands become significant less for their practical importance than for the mood they reveal on the part of the country making them. That mood is one which does not bode very well for the future of peace.

Since boundary questions make only trouble, we should do everything we can to have as many of them as possible postponed until after the military phase of the war is ended. Germany's great attack last week has shown us how far we are from that condition. We must recognize, however, that the United States does not have the power to enforce such a decision. We must also recognize that a successful termination of the military phase of the war is more important than anything else.

It is clear that many people are building hopes that are too high on a new conference among Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. Such a conference is undoubtedly desirable, but it will work no magic. Men who disagree fundamentally at a distance of some thousands of miles will not automatically come to agreement just because they are gathered in a single room. The fundamental disagreements between Stalin and Churchill are profound and irreconcilable. The communist and the imperialist can never do more than patch up a truce that will enable them to unite for the destruction of a common enemy. This does not mean that they must then go on to fight each other; there is, on the contrary, no reason why they cannot arrive at a common and long lasting modus vivendi. But it is absurd to suppose that they will ever in fact see eye to eye on the sort of world that they want.

*Summers in The Buffalo Evening News*

Little Red Riding-Hood

Mr. Roosevelt's merit as a member of the Big Three is that he is less committed than either of the others to an irreconcilable extremism. He can side first with one man and then with the other and thus keep the balance level. He can also interpose a veto on behalf of the decent sentiments of mankind when the common ruthlessness of the communist and the imperialist impel them to action which free public opinion cannot condone. There are, however, sharp limits to this power of Mr. Roosevelt's. Those who say that we should have blackmailed the British and the Russians into accepting our views at an early stage of the war forget that our need and our danger were quite as great as those of our allies. We needed to help them for our own sake quite as much as for theirs. It is the first principle of blackmail that the extortioner shall be completely outside the predicament of his victim.

It is well that we should remember the limitations on our power when we dispute the proposed territorial settlements in Europe with the British and the Russians. Americans, who lived so long isolated amid the splendid resources of their empty continent, have something of a spoiled-child complex in regard to having their own way. In fact, however, we cannot by force compel the British or the Russians to take our advice. Nations have only two courses of conduct open to them: they must either accept one another or go to war. If we went to war with Russia, we should have to fight on her soil, and should almost certainly be defeated. As for war between the United States and Great Britain, it is doubtful whether any casus belli would persuade the people of either country to fight. Certainly they would not do so over the boundaries of Poland or Germany.

The foregoing words are not meant as justification of a policy of cheap opportunism or cynicism. It is highly desirable that the United States should stand and work for moral principles in the realm of international settlement. The danger is that we shall not be sufficiently moral, rather than that we shall indulge in "impractical idealism." What Americans should work for, in relation to European boundaries, is settlements based on these principles: no change in a boundary without the consent of both parties; exchange of populations to prevent the creation of unreconciled

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minorities; the abolition of all tariffs and other restrictions on freedom of trade, so that Europe can have the greatest possible degree of prosperity, inasmuch as poverty breeds nationalism, nationalism breeds fascism and fascism breeds war. But while working for these principles, we must bear in mind that Utopia is not to be reached in a day, that the successful conclusion of the war against Germany and Japan is at present more important than anything else, and that some degree of temporary injustice just now is better than a universal and permanent degree of injustice through a fascist victory.

*This is the first of a series of editorials on the world after the war. The second will deal with the future of Germany.* – THE EDITORS

## Air Power and the German Offensive

Perhaps the most important technical feature of the von Rundstedt offensive is the opportunity it has given for a clear delineation of the role of air power. From the days of "Victory Through Air Power" and the Douhet doctrine, we have come a long way—too long, as far as the general opinion of the public goes, which, from the belief that planes could accomplish everything, has switched around to the belief that they can accomplish nothing but making the enemy uncomfortable.

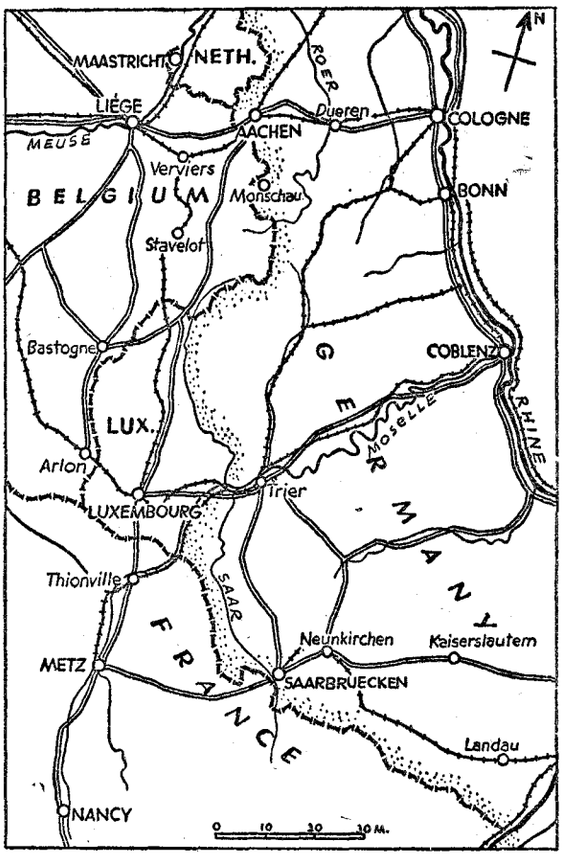
It is noteworthy that although the Germans have done without air support (in any large sense) all through the defensive fighting of the fall, von Rundstedt assembled every plane the Luftwaffe could give him when he passed to the attack. Nor is it altogether coincidence that his pause to regroup his armor on December 21 should come at exactly the moment when the skies cleared sufficiently to let the Eighth and Ninth Air Forces launch massive strikes. During the 1940 push there was no such halt; this time the Nazis would rather take a chance on giving Eisenhower time so important to him than accept the alternative of having their formations caught by our planes while dispersed along the narrow roads of the Ardennes.

## A Failure of American Intelligence

Yet this Allied air superiority, so potent a factor in the war of movement, only the more sharply emphasizes the fact that it took a complete breakdown in the American intelligence service to make the drive possible. The whole operation is a repeat, on a larger and deadlier scale, of what happened at Kasserine Gap, at the beaches of Salerno and the landing at Anzio. Overconfidence there undoubtedly was, especially on the part of General Hodges of the First Army, who was hit from the right when all his weight was thrown forward on the left foot. But it is the specific business of Intelligence to keep such overconfidence from developing. They had perfectly adequate air scouting and they are supposed to have other sources of information—yet they apparently knew nothing about the assembly of at least 300,000 German troops, with all the armor and transport necessary for a long move, and the gathering of a major portion of the Luftwaffe. It does not help their case very much to say that they did know, but were unable to convince the High Command. War has no place for Cassandras. G-2, in fact, seems to have been successful chiefly in concealing facts from the people at home and making the generals look good. In its subsidiary functions of hiding information from the enemy and getting it out of him, it has been pretty much of a failure right down the line.

## Eisenhower's Bold Plan

In the face of this and his other difficulties, General Eisenhower's developing counter-plan is astonishingly bold. The textbook, "logical" counter to the German attack would be to leave strong rear-guards in the




The German Offensive

The German advance is hampered by a lack of good supply lines. One main system of communication runs from Cologne and Bonn into the big pocket, another from Coblenz through Trier, while there is none directly supporting the center of von Rundstedt's drive. These lines have the disadvantage that they run parallel to and close along what has now become the front, and the threat to them forces the Nazi commander to detach more troops for the protection of his flanks than has been usual in this war. The greatest danger to these flanks appears to come from Patton's Third Army, which has apparently executed a fairly simple leftward slide.

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broken country between the Belgian border and the line of the Meuse, and to build a new defense along that stream on the line Sedan-Mezières-Charleville-Givet-Dinant-Namur-Liège, with a strong mobile force behind that line, ready to strike into the head of the German advance, as soon as its main direction developed, and the air forces hammering their communications through the difficult Ardennes country. Instead, he has pushed forward to engage them in a field battle within the confines of that country. The Third Army's attack from the south would fit either plan, since one of the main German lines of communication, that through Trier, runs fairly close to the front. The counter-attack from the north would fit a defensive scheme.

But the use of a considerable quantity of armor, as it was used, between Vielsalm and St. Vith, was no part of any defense. It was a counter-attack: object, not to disengage and gain time, but to keep in closest possible contact with the enemy, grip him so tightly in battle that he himself will be unable to disengage. If von Rundstedt is gambling, so are our own leaders.

## Where Are the Russians?

There is audible a certain amount of protest, even from people in the army, who ought to know better, because the Russians have not seen fit to gamble at the same time on a great offensive in the Polish plain. It is not altogether justified. An attack in Poland has seemed indicated ever since the Soviets were stopped at the Vistula last summer. Three years ago, or even last year, it might not have mattered in the least that the Nazis were expecting it. But whatever else may be said of them, they have a considerable capacity for learning military lessons; and in the time since they stood before Moscow, they have had opportunity to learn a good deal about winter warfare in plains country, and their technique is probably now not much behind the Russian.

The latest information is to the effect that they have strong reserves posted behind the Vistula in expectation of just such an attack as the Russians are being urged to make. Their intelligence, in contrast to our own, has always been excellent, and we may take it that they will know the moment any of these reserves are withdrawn. They may attack even before these words are published, but the peculiar military geography of the region behind their front needs to be borne in mind. In most regions of the world supplies have to be moved up and an offensive mounted before winter sets in; in that country the preliminary movements can hardly begin until winter has come to harden the marshes and roads sufficiently for support movements. In any case, no attack the Russians could have made so far this winter in Poland would have had the slightest effect on the von Rundstedt offensive; and none they can make now will distract German reserves from it.

## Getting Down to Business

Those who thought the war was nearly over have now been shocked out of their complacency. The German offensive showed how grossly most of us had underestimated the Nazis' striking power. In the Pacific, while things have been going well in our island-hopping, they have been going badly in China. Here at home, many important foodstuffs have gone back on the ration list, production of civilian goods has been frozen at its present level, and the shortage of manpower has forced us to revise the draft provisions in order to maintain high levels of production of military goods. A symptom of the new mood is the long delayed action of War Mobilization Director Byrnes in closing down horse and dog racing tracks and in spurring General Hershey to reëxamine the draft status of all professional athletes. We may still find it necessary to institute universal national service, which is employed by every other great power engaged in the war on either side.

## Two Important Decisions

In two decisions rendered December 18, the United States Supreme Court has laid the foundation for a far-reaching change in the position of what we may call "private government in America." Proceeding on the usual theory that they were "private groups," the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen entered into a collective-bargaining agreement restricting employment of Negroes. The Alabama courts upheld them over the protest of Negro employees of the railroad, but the Supreme Court was unanimous in reversing the decision and in holding the agreement invalid.

In another case, an employer entered into a closed-shop agreement with an independent union which had won the election by a narrow margin. The union thereafter denied access to membership to a large group of employees because of their prior CIO union activity, and forced their discharge upon the more or less unwilling employer. A bare majority of the Court (Justices Black, Reed, Douglas, Murphy and Rutledge) held that entering into the closed-shop agreement with knowledge of the union's exclusionary policy was an unfair labor practice on the part of the employer, and ordered the reinstatement of the discharged employees with back pay.

## "Private Governments"

The so-called conservative wing of the court dissented, seemingly because the decision achieved a judicial control of the fairness of union policies by indirection, that is, by penalizing the employer. The issue, however, is broad enough to justify disregarding occasional hardships. What is involved is the reconciliation of the existence of private groups, essential to a

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free society, with the guarantee of the minimum standards of decency in the "private" policies of those who decide our everyday livelihood and happiness. The New Republic has pointed out that collective-bargaining agreements and union representation are *political* rather than contractual in nature. A recent article by A. H. Pekelis in The Saturday Review of Literature makes the suggestion that "private governments" be subject to constitutional controls analogous to those applied to national and state governments. In answer, it is usually said that "the Constitution runs against governments only," and therefore a private monopoly, a railroad brotherhood, or such a group as the Boston Board of Book Merchants, seems to be entitled to do what the Bill of Rights would prevent a public official from doing. The Supreme Court, in our judgment, has shown wisdom and courage in approaching this problem with democratic realism. When the Chief Justice of the United States asserted in the Negro-firemen case that a bargaining union has "powers comparable to those possessed by a legislative body," and is therefore under "at least as exacting duty to protect the interest of the members of the craft as the Constitution imposes upon a legislature to give equal protection to those for whom it legislates," he announced a principle of historic significance, going far beyond the dispute at hand.

### Responsibility Goes with Power

The growth of the unions' power puts them under an obligation toward the community at large, since in a democracy power must mean responsibility. If a union gets a closed shop it cannot be a "closed union" as well. Nor can the Associated Press members who have combined their newsgathering resources and achieved a powerful position in the news market remain a "closed coöperative." Private governments often count in our everyday life more than public ones do. We must not permit our Constitution to be limited to the surface but must bring its dictates down to the level of social reality. It would be intolerable if equality and freedom reigned where they do not matter, while monopolies of all kinds dominate the situations which really count.

### The SS Herbert D. Croly

We record with pleasure the fact that the United States Maritime Commission has named a ship for Herbert Croly, founder and for its first fifteen years editor of The New Republic. The SS Herbert D. Croly is a Liberty Ship of 10,800 deadweight tons, built by the Todd-Houston Shipbuilding Corporation in Houston, Texas, and launched a few weeks ago. She is now under charter to the International Freighting Corporation of New York City, and playing her part in America's global war effort. Needless to say, we wish her the best of luck.

## Science and National Defense

DURING THE WAR, a great many American scientists have been mobilized in the national defense. There is no doubt that they have done much that is of value; whether they have done as much as could reasonably be expected, or less than that, or more, remains a military secret, not to be revealed until the war is over, if then. Meanwhile, there remains the problem as to what should be the relationship between science and the government in the postwar world. That we shall need some degree of national defense, no matter what may be done in the field of collective security, seems certain. That science must play an important part in keeping us at least abreast of developments in other countries, is equally certain. A good many well known scientists, however, take their coloration from the conservative business men who are their associates, and seem terribly alarmed lest government aid to scientific research should interfere with the sacred fetish of "private enterprise." There is a real danger that they may cripple scientific research by turning it over to the same auspices which helped bring us to such a perilous condition in 1941.

A committee under the chairmanship of Charles E. Wilson of the General Electric Company has been studying this subject at the request of the Secretaries of War and Navy, and its report was summarized in the November 24 issue of Science. Almost at the same time, the President made public a letter to Dr. Vannevar Bush, director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD), asking that the problems of utilization of wartime research for peaceful production and the role of the government in aiding research be investigated.

Chairman Wilson, Frank B. Jewett of the Bell System, President Karl T. Compton and Jerome C. Hunsaker of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Merle A. Tuve of the Carnegie Institute constituted the civilian members of the committee chosen by the Secretaries of War and Navy to meet with four army and four navy officers. The committee has confined its attention to the narrower problem of technical military scientific research. Within this framework, it seems to have produced an able but cautious report which shows the marks of compromise.

Ultimately, the Wilson committee looks ahead to the creation of a government agency, staffed by civilian scientists with some army and navy representation, which shall expend funds voted by Congress upon important exploratory scientific research relevant to national defense. The office shall utilize full-time members and consultants, standing and *ad-hoc* committees; it should rely upon contracts and grants-in-aid to existing laboratories, rather than building its own. It will supplement rather than supplant the research and operating agencies within the armed services.

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This is to be the ultimate goal, not to be realized for some time. In the interim, prior to the creation of such an agency by Congress, the National Academy of Sciences, composed of distinguished men of science, is to carry on a sort of regency. This part of the report goes against all canons of common sense, administrative continuity and the national interest. If a permanent office cannot be set up immediately—and it is not obvious why there should be delay beyond the cessation of hostilities—then the OSRD, now in full operation, is the obvious organization to bridge the transition from wartime to a permanent peacetime agency.

Indeed, if one wished the role of the government in postwar research to remain at its traditional inadequate prewar level, one could not do better than to come out in favor of the proposed transitional plan, in the certainty that legislation not enacted now will not be passed later. A similar latent distrust of the government by part of the committee seems to provide the explanation for the fantastic suggestion that even in the long run the National Academy of Science should usurp the functions of the Executive in appointing personnel of the new agency. Of course, Congress and the Executive will wish to utilize the expert knowledge of Academy members; but the American people should no more acquiesce in the present scheme than to a proposal that the carpenters' union should elect members of a board which is to plan public works.

To paraphrase the Clemenceau dictum about generals: "Science is too important a business to be left to the scientists." We have come a long way since the dark days of 1940, and part of the credit must go to the mobilized scientists of the United Nations. Just how much, must necessarily remain a military secret, but one can read between the lines of the news at least three important technological triumphs: successful defensive interception of enemy aircraft in the Battle of Britain; victory over the submarine menace; and continuous round-the-season blind-bombing of Germany.

All this required coördinated skill, collective effort and *a great deal of luck.* Before the war, neither our universities nor industrial laboratories were devoting appreciable time or money in several directions important for national safety. Between 1935 and 1939 only pitiful driblets were available for fundamental research in the same fields which now engage hundreds of physicists and electrical engineers. Some providential lucky strikes were made by British and American physicists in the hour of greatest need. But no one should blind himself to their fortuitous character or count on their recurrence in the next crisis.

On one issue the American people—internationalists, isolationists and even pacifists—are united: the security and defense of the United States are the responsibility of the government and must not be jeopardized by vested interests, overcaution or lack of vision. Britain, Russia and the defeated enemy will not be hampered by these. V-1 and V-2 have routed any last hesitation.

No responsible person has estimated our yearly postwar defense expenditures at less than $5 billion. It would seem only reasonable to devote five or ten percent of this amount to sustained scientific research and development under civilian governmental direction. The office set-up should allocate grants-in-aid to universities and laboratories, and undertake *sustained* fundamental research and development.

Such an organization is necessary but not sufficient. It is only one pillar of a vitally needed program which should also include complete scientific rejuvenation of the armed services; drastic improvement of the army, navy and air-force laboratories; recruitment of top staff officers who are professional scientists as well as soldiers; development of graduate centers to supplement the rudimentary technical instruction offered by West Point and Annapolis; expert civilian consultantship at every level. Such reforms within the services will mean a slow uphill battle, but an important one.

Second, and most important from the long-run point of view, our federal government can no longer afford *not* to give extensive aid to fundamental research, even in fields which may seem remote from military needs. Experience has decisively demonstrated that the best guarantee of utilitarian innovations is a policy of generously supporting fundamental, theoretical, non-utilitarian investigations.

Scientists are traditionally conservative. At the moment the best of them are war weary after years of strain. But now they must come forward with bold imaginative plans in the non-military as well as the military fields. The alternative of inaction is not open to them. Public opinion is on the march and will not be thwarted by brass hats, big business or guild traditionalism. If the professional scientists themselves do not produce an adequate postwar program, the floodgates may be opened to hasty extensive action which they will like even less and which may not fully realize our national objectives.

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*Editors:* BRUCE BLIVEN, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG

*Treasurer:* DANIEL MEBANE

*Assistant Editors:* HEINZ EULAU, ELIZABETH HULING, GEORGE MAYBERRY, HELEN FULLER (Washington)

*Contributing Editors:* H. N. BRAILSFORD, VAN WYCK BROOKS, MALCOLM COWLEY, VARIAN FRY, JULIAN HUXLEY, ALFRED KAZIN, MAX LERNER, E. C. LINDEMAN, THOMAS SANCTON, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

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# The New Crusade Against Planning

A NEW BOOK by Friedrich A. Hayek,[1] "The Road to Serfdom," has been making a remarkable stir of late. Visitors recently returned from Great Britain report that it has sold enormously there and is perhaps the most discussed non-fiction work since the war began. In the United States also it has sold very widely, and already, within a few months after publication, has run into several printings. It achieved the remarkable distinction of the leading review on the same day in the Sunday editions of The New York Times and The Herald Tribune. It had the honor of an extended discussion in Fortune magazine. Such a volume deserves attention regardless of its intrinsic merits.

It is the thesis of Hayek's book that "the rise of fascism and Nazism was not a reaction against the socialist trends of the preceding period but a necessary outcome of these tendencies." There are a large number of "points where at an interval of fifteen to twenty-five years we seem to follow the example of Germany." In like manner, "in more recent years Sweden has been the model country to which progressive eyes were directed." It is necessary "to state the unpalatable truth that it is Germany whose fate we are in some danger of repeating." There are "symptoms of a definite trend" that suggest that "developments will take a similar course" and are "moving in the same direction" (pp. 2-4).

The road that we are traveling, which Hayek believes will likely lead us to Nazism and fascism, is again and again throughout the book described as "socialism" and "planning"—the two terms being regarded as synonymous. What is to be included under the umbrella of these terms we shall have more to say about later. But these terms describe, Hayek believes, the road we are on now, and indeed the one we have increasingly been traveling during the last 75 years. We have witnessed a "complete reversal" of the older liberal trend, "an entire abandonment of the individualist tradition which has created Western civilization." The reign of these ideas had reached its widest expansion by "about 1870." From then onward it began to retreat (pp. 20-21; 32-35).[2]

Hayek fears that we do not want "to understand the development which has produced totalitarianism because such an understanding might destroy some of the dearest illusions to which we are determined to cling." We need to examine the "character and the growth" of these ideas. If we "take the people whose views influence developments, they are now in the democracies in some measure all socialists. If it is no longer fashionable to emphasize that 'we are all socialists now,' this is so merely because the fact is too obvious" (pp. 4-6).

Now what are the institutions we have been building increasingly during the last 75 years—the road to Nazism and fascism? They are very meagerly described by Hayek. And it is not difficult to detect that the moment he becomes concrete and specific he finds his task pretty difficult. The going is easy wherever the argument proceeds under the banner of "planning" and "socialism." These are very convenient words. Are we sure we know what they mean? Hayek indeed concedes that the terms "capitalism" and "socialism" conceal rather than elucidate the nature of the transition through which we are passing. But he continues nevertheless to use "socialism" throughout the book. And by "socialism" he means "planning."

But "planning" is a rather troublesome word. Hayek finds that there is good planning and there is bad planning (p. 42). That looks like a good start. The lad in Sunday school is told that there is good and evil in the world, good boys and bad boys. He resolves to trail only with the good boys. But who are they? The Sunday-school teacher does not have to face such concrete questions. That is a job for the Boy Scout leader. With his intimate knowledge of the "gang," however, the Scout Master knows that he would have to be very arbitrary indeed if he were called upon to make a clean separation of the "sheep" from the "goats." Can you think of any piece of legislation that is 100-percent good? I can't. I have often thought that no matter how one shapes it up, it is wrong. Alexander Hamilton very wisely said: "It interests the public councils to estimate every object as it truly is; to appreciate how far the good in any measure is compensated by the ill, or the ill by the good: either of them is seldom unmixed." Not so for Hayek. For him the world is a very simple affair. There is good planning and there is bad planning.

Now what is "good planning" according to Hayek? Again the definition, abstractly considered, is easy. It is "planning for competition." And bad planning is "planning against competition."

Among the institutions and programs increasingly adopted by modern democracies are labor legislation

[1] "The Road to Serfdom," by Friedrich A. Hayek. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 261 pages. $2.75.

[2] Incidentally, it is not without interest to note that just at this point around the 1870's, when the individualistic tradition had reached its height, government in the United States, both federal and local, hit an all-time low. Government is still very far from perfect in the United States, but at any rate it is not where it was then. The peak of laissez-faire capitalism did not seem to produce good government. This area deserves more study, particularly in view of Hayek's allegation of a high correlation between individualism and democracy.—A. H. H.

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with respect to maximum hours and minimum wages; legislation legalizing collective bargaining; social-security legislation, including unemployment insurance, health insurance and old-age insurance. All of these have certainly been called "socialism" time and again. Are they good or bad planning? Are they planning for or against competition?

I find it very difficult to see how these measures can be described as "planning *for* competition." It is generally believed that collective bargaining, minimum-wage boards and unemployment insurance limited competition in the wage market so as to cause the "rigidity of wages" experienced in Britain during the price deflation following the return to the gold standard. Nevertheless Hayek favors a "comprehensive system of social insurance." As all modern readers understand that term, it certainly includes unemployment insurance. But what now becomes of his criterion about good and bad planning? As soon as one becomes a Boy Scout leader and faces reality, one is in trouble.

Mr. Chamberlain implies in his Foreword that Hayek favors "minimum-wage standards." I have not been able to verify this in the book, though by inference what is said on page 120 might be so interpreted. I do find specific approval of maximum hours (p. 37). Hayek is almost completely silent, so far as I can discover, about labor unions. He speaks critically of "joint monopolist action of capitalists and workers in the best organized industries." Is he against unionism and collective bargaining? Surely collective bargaining is one of the most crucial of all the institutions of modern democracies. Must we turn our backs on it, or can we include it under "good planning"? But Hayek prefers not to become a Boy Scout Master. The "ivory tower," where hard decisions do not have to be faced, is more comfortable.

With respect to social security, the matter is even more nebulous. Here Hayek says he is for a "comprehensive system of social insurance" (p. 121). But he adds: "The planning for security which has such an insidious effect on liberty is that for security of a different kind. It is planning designed to protect individuals or groups against diminutions of their incomes, which although in no way deserved yet in a competitive society occur daily, against losses imposing severe hardships having no moral justification yet inseparable from the competitive system" (p. 122). Now what can we make out of that? Is he for the Beveridge program or against it? That is the kind of tough question we have to decide in our modern democracy. The best I can make out of it is that Hayek favors the measure of social security that England has now, since (p. 120) he seems to speak approvingly of the sort of security which has long been achieved. Yet this is one of the most important sections of the "road we have been traveling." We are therefore left in confusion. I suspect he is against Beveridge. And I think I know his past ideas well enough to be fairly sure that he was against all social security, as well as labor unions, before he came to England. There are many signs in this book that he has become "corrupted" during his stay in England by "modern ideas."

As is well known, British social policy and institutions are not very logical. Things that "don't mix," that don't fit into such neat patterns as "planning for competition" and "planning against," exist side by side. But somehow this clumsy organism lives on. And can one seriously deny that life in England is more wholesome today and more democratic than ever before in English history?

There are other concrete policy questions about which Hayek remains discreetly vague. Mr. Chamberlain tells us that he is for "certain types of government investment" (p. vi). Hayek cites (p. 39) Adam Smith's approval of governmental undertakings which "though they may be in the highest degree advantageous to a great society, are, however, of such a nature that the profit could never repay the expense to any individual or small number of individuals." These tasks, says Hayek, provide "a wide and unquestioned field for state activity." The word "unquestioned" encourages us to hope that here at last we shall have no doubts. Does this mean that Hayek favors the TVA, the redevelopment of urban slums, low-cost public housing? I can't answer, though he is explicitly (p. 227) against a TVA in the Danube Basin. These questions are hard upon us in the United States. Are these things "good planning" or "bad planning"? If we do these things, will they lead us further on the road to serfdom?[1]

Hayek favors anti-depression monetary policy, but he does not tell us of what it should consist. Presumably it is not the monetary policy he advocated 15 years ago, now thoroughly discredited, and even abandoned by Hayek himself in favor of the highly dubious "commodity reserve currency." As to fiscal policy (pp. 121-2), he favors a very small dose, but refrains from telling us whether the British White Paper on Employment Policy is good or bad planning. Will it also lead us down the road to serfdom? Again Hayek prefers not to become a Scout Master. At this point it would have been a useful service if Hayek had stressed more than he does the difference between *direct* and *indirect* controls. Monetary and fiscal policy do *not* regiment the market.

I have noted above that Hayek is incredibly skimpy about the nature and character of this "road to serfdom" which all modern democracies are on. It is therefore of interest to note that a large part of such concrete analysis as he does give relates to tariff pro-

[1] Even education, which Hayek unreservedly supports as a state function, presents problems. In the United States, many poor states do not have the fiscal capacity to furnish a *minimum* standard education for their children. Federal aid on a large scale is necessary. But here we encounter the fear of centralization, about which Hayek is also concerned.

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tection and to various forms of monopoly, including cartels, combines and big business with "one or at most a few giant firms." These are clearly forms of "planning against competition." American business men will be interested to learn that such "planning" is also "socialism," these terms being synonymous. Thus we may infer that Alexander Hamilton, who introduced our protective-tariff system, was our first socialist starting us down the road to serfdom. Hayek, I hasten to add, does not cite Hamilton, but he does cite Bismarck's adoption of protectionism in 1879 as an early milepost down the road to Nazism (p. 175). Fichte, Rodbertus, Lassalle and Hegel in Germany, and Thomas Carlyle in England and Auguste Comte in France, all nurtured the roots of Nazism (Chapter XII).

This kind of writing is not scholarship. It is seeing hobgoblins under every bed.

Let the reader set down any proposition about historical development he may choose. By diligently applying Hayek's methods he will find no difficulty in neatly proving his thesis.

The "monopolistic organization of industry" is the "tendency which is the great immediate danger" (p. 194). This "movement is, of course, deliberately planned mainly by the capitalist organizers of monopolies." Nevertheless it would be a "mistake to put the blame for the movement exclusively or mainly on that class," for they have "succeeded in enlisting the support of an ever increasing number of other groups" (pp. 194-6).

As my readers well know, I am no friend either of high tariffs or of monopoly in its various forms. But no good comes from exaggeration. We have a long history of both tariffs and monopoly in the United States, and they confront us now, as formerly, with serious problems for our democracy. I welcome any aid which Hayek can offer in the fight. I doubt that it will help matters to get hysterical about these age-long problems, or to subsume these manifestations of "planning against competition" under the title of "socialism." And I especially regret that Hayek has seen fit in a footnote (p. 203) to argue that the suppression of useful patents is "so exceptional that it is doubtful whether this has happened in any important instance." On this point Corwin Edwards may, I think, be entitled to a respectful hearing as a competent witness. Free enterprise, it seems to me, would be fostered by making available all inventions and new processes to any user upon payment of a reasonable royalty. The Alien Property Custodian has laid down the rule that no patent in its possession shall become the *exclusive* possession of any firm. But one gets no support from Hayek here. Nor does he have anything to say about the stimulus to new enterprise and to smaller competitors which large-scale governmental research (the findings of which should be made freely available to all business) could offer.

But let us get back to the main argument. All present-day democratic countries have for many decades past had much in common with Germany before the advent of Hitler. All were becoming more urbanized and industrialized. Social-welfare expenditures were increasing. Social-security measures, collective bargaining and labor legislation were everywhere adopted. Consumers' and producers' organizations were growing. Educational facilities were rapidly expanding, and workers and farmers were more and more exerting a political influence. Governmental expenditures in relation to national income were everywhere growing. Business units were becoming larger and larger, and an ever growing proportion of wage-earners were employed by large concerns. Tariffs and other restraints on trade were everywhere on the increase, especially after World War I. Agricultural subsidies and adjustment programs, together with commodity agreements, interfered with the free market. This catalogue by no means completes the picture, but I am not writing a book and the reader can easily fill in the gaps.

The point is that the democracies and Germany had very much in common. Therefore, according to Hayek, since Germany went Nazi, it is highly probable that all the rest will go the same way in due time. All have been traveling the same road—the "fifty years' approach toward collectivism" (p. 211).

Since Germany is the only "black sheep" in the family of Western democracies (Italy and Russia obviously don't belong here), would it not be more sensible to enquire into the special conditions that might explain the rise of Nazism? I do not pretend that this is an easy task. But Hayek has not even attempted it. Since one member of the family with a common environment went wrong, he concludes they all are going that way. One might have expected that a case study would be in order.

Hayek barely mentions the defeat and "the war hysteria of 1914, which, just because of the German defeat, was never fully cured" (p. 169). The astronomical inflation and its effect on the middle class is not considered. The Junker military tradition is brushed aside as of no consequence. Nor does he examine the absence in Germany of deep democratic traditions such as had grown up over the centuries with deep roots long before the age of modern capitalism in Anglo-Saxon countries. It is not without significance that the intellectual classes in Germany before 1914, and even in the Weimar Republic, prided themselves on not stooping to interest themselves in mere "politics."

The Western democracies—at any rate England, the Scandinavian countries, Holland, the British dominions and the United States—will have none of totalitarianism. But they do believe in a "mixed society." Hayek asserts (p. 42) that such a society will not work. But the fact is it is working in a manner to pro-

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duce not only the highest standard of living ever achieved, but also wider participation by the masses of the people in their economic and political affairs. Sweden, the country that Hayek cites (p. 3) as far along the road to serfdom, is a "mixed society." Private enterprise, state enterprise and coöperative enterprise flourish and prosper side by side. And through trade unions and collective bargaining, through coöperatives, and through the eager and intelligent participation in politics and the active management and control of the state for the common good, the people as a whole have achieved as never before a high degree of personal liberty and freedom. The picture is more or less the same in all the Western democracies. And as for the United States, Hayek should come and visit us during a presidential campaign. He would not learn anything that would improve his excellent literary qualities, but he would learn what a free press and free speech mean. He would learn that Americans have a fierce love of liberty and they know how to put in his place any government official or bureaucrat who tampers with their liberties. This is something which the German people at no time in their history knew how to do.

I have omitted consideration of Russia and Italy. Russia clearly reached totalitarianism and communism not by way of the road that the Western democracies are traveling, but via tsarism. This fact is slurred over by Hayek and he only calls attention to the totalitarian and regimental similarities between Russian communism and Nazism. As for Italy, it is clear that she could hardly be classed with the Western democracies in view of her general backwardness in terms of almost all the essential characteristics of the advanced countries. The plain fact is that Italy, Russia, Japan (not mentioned by Hayek) and Germany all reached totalitarianism by very considerably divergent roads.

Hayek's book will not be long lived. There is no substance in it to make it live. But it will momentarily stir up a good deal of discussion, and this is all to the good. It is no new thought to Americans that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. We need now as always to be on guard. We face serious dangers ahead. We always have and we always shall. And as a goad to fresh self-examination it may well be that Hayek's "Road to Serfdom" is, as has been suggested, "good medicine but a bad diet."

ALVIN H. HANSEN

# Western Bloc or European Union?

THE OLD Foreign Office diplomacy is hard at work, establishing its alliances for postwar security, buttressing the Pierlots and the Papandreous, putting its trust in complaisant princes and using the British liberation armies to disarm the liberated. The mass of public opinion in Britain is bewildered, and the report of politically ill informed war correspondents (or perhaps the kind of editing which, in The (London) Daily Telegraph, described the Athens fighting as between the left-wing ELAS and the *democratic* EDES), has added to public confusion. The term "Reds"—respectable since Russia came into the war—is again being used with a sting by the Conservative press. What the simple British citizen can't understand is why are we supporting unpopular and reactionary governments—constitutional only in the sense that they were the government before the German attack—against the popular will. The answer is that in the absence of a general plan for security, Britain, at her end of Europe and along the imperial routes, is seeking security through her own influence with governments, just as Russia at her end is establishing her influence through her armies. For the time being, the British view of foreign policy seems twofold—the official Foreign Office policy, which wants to organize regional blocs with the support of the governments which have been nurtured in Britain during the war, and the Opposition policy, which believes that alliances mean war, and wants a European organization as part of an even larger world organization, supported by popular governments of resistant anti-fascists. (There are also cross-currents of opinion in the Right and Left—the progressive Conservatives who want a strong alliance with Russia, and the rather naïve Socialists, who believe that you can have a Western bloc which won't develop a collective military interest.)

The Foreign Office's traditional fear is of a great land-power dominating Europe. Britain fought France to prevent such a hegemony; she is fighting Germany for the same purpose. Now the Foreign Office is looking ahead at Russia's growth in political and material strength. By 1970, it is estimated, according to a League of Nations report, that the population of the USSR will have risen from 174 million in 1940 to 251 million. The combined populations of Northwestern and Central Europe (that is to say, the United Kingdom and Ireland, Austria, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands and Switzerland) will have fallen from 234 million to 225 million. Great Britain's population will have fallen from 50.2 million to 46.8 million; France, from 41.2 million to 36 million. If the rate of mortality and fertility doesn't change greatly, the population of Germany proper is likely to remain constant at 69 million. Even allowing for inaccuracies of several millions caused by at present unknown factors—starvation, plague and deportations—these forecasts of

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the Economic, Financial and Transit Department of the League confirm already observed trends. Russia is going to have the greatest manpower of Europe in the critical year of 1970, when the nations, having caught their breath after World War II, will be considering whether to send the 1946-7, or '48, class into battle.

Nor will the USSR be dominant in Europe for its population alone. Despite the havoc in the Ukraine, it will emerge from this war as a mighty industrial power, far stronger than it was in 1941. When we say that Russia will need 25 years to rebuild her ruined cities and industries, we are thinking only of western Russia. The whole area east of Moscow has already multiplied its resources. Bashkiria, the "Second Baku," the Urals, duplicating the industries of the West, the thousand-mile-long Magnitogorsk-Kuznetsk industrial axis, the new and little reported Angara zone in Siberia, have enabled Russia, despite her losses, to exceed her 1941 figures of production. Russia will welcome foreign help between now and 1970, but she won't be dependent on it. Her combination of manpower and material resources will make her formidable for peace or war; and just as magnetism increases in proportion to the mass, so Russia, by attracting her smaller neighbors to her mass, will still further increase her powers to attract. That is the situation which makes the Foreign Office think of Britain's continental alliances.

Pierlot and Gerbrandy have already assented to the conception of a Western bloc. Though geography draws King Haakon to Russia, inclination makes him adhere to Britain. The kings and business men of the Low Countries and Scandinavia are disposed toward a Western bloc. It is small wonder that the Allied High Command prefers the collaboration of the Pierlot government to the collaboration of a Resistance government in Belgium: both will fight the Germans (though a government, with the people, is likely to have more success than one propped up on Allied bayonets), but after victory Pierlot will turn to the West, whereas a Communist-influenced Resistance government will look to the East.

France is a different cup of tea from the Low Countries. De Gaulle, brought to prominence by British help, now sustains his power on popular French support. As Bidault recently said, "He is a man who knows how to say 'No!'" De Gaulle does not want France to be a junior member of a Western bloc. On the contrary, he sees France as the fulcrum of a scale in which Russia and the British Empire balance each other. France alone (36 million, remember, in 1970) is materially a second-rate power. She needs the economic help of Britain and America; but to accept it might make her their political client, were it not for her own diplomatic power as a potential ally of Russia. France needs security and materials to rebuild. De Gaulle sees security by an iron restraint on Germany from both the West and the East, while his Western allies finance France's reconstruction. But he wants security against Britain and the USA, as he wants it against Russia. He no more wants France to be a vassal of British and American business men than he wants her to be a dependent of Russia. But however anxious de Gaulle is to compensate for France's weakness by making her the arbiter of the European balance of power, France will be subject to the stresses and volitions of the two great powers in the scale. If Europe falls into a Western and Eastern bloc, France won't be able to act the part of a great neutral. One or other of the powerful flanking blocs, on whom she will depend militarily or economically, will force her to take sides.

I've spoken of a Western bloc in the same way as those who advocate it; that is to say, without defining it. But the term must be clarified. Does it mean a *Zollverein*—a customs union—of Scandinavia, the Low Countries, France and Britain? Does it mean a single currency? Does it mean a coördinated economic policy? Or does it mean a military alliance? Those who imagine that it means a local economic arrangement within an international framework don't do justice to the ambition of those who are attempting to form the Western bloc. A Western bloc would have to defend as well as foster the interests of its constituent powers. It would inevitably seek to counter the influence of Russia—the nation of 251 millions in 1970.

The conception of the Western bloc is as much power politics as the conception of an Eastern bloc, now taking form in Eastern Europe, with Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and perhaps Greece, as the clients of the USSR. We are now in the stage of diplomatic maneuver in which the high cards are military prestige, military force and food.

However friendly their intentions, Britain and Russia must dispute the mastery of Europe, if they seek security in *unrelated* blocs or spheres of influence. New methods of war—flying bombs and rockets—make it essential for Britain to have a friendly Continental seaboard. A fascist Pas de Calais is a menace to a democratic Britain, just as a fascist Warsaw or Viborg is to the USSR.

Does this then mean that Europe can only hope for a Western and Eastern bloc, with Britain dominating the politics of the West and Russia those of the East and Southeast? It is inevitable that great powers will influence their neighbors by their example and their trade. Regional groupings can serve the peace of Europe by administering matters such as customs unions, location of industry, and economic budgets, planned by an overriding European organization.

It is the nature of these groupings, and the use that is likely to be made of them, which will decide

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whether the world will be guided or tyrannized over by the hegemonous powers, and whether, in the short run—that is to say, by the critical year 1970—there will be a war of the regional groupings.

A system of regional blocs which are merely military alliances means war: and those who support the idea should realize to what they are committing themselves. De Gaulle's old-fashioned tightrope walk, balancing between East and West, is also bound to fail.

What hope is there then for Europe? There is still time for a coördinated European policy, if the Foreign Office reflects the present feeling of Britain, and abandons its worn-out dynastic politics, together with the reactionary parties, one stage removed from the dynasties. The peoples of Europe want peace: but they will fight for liberty. Britain can't hope to lead them with bayonets. Our prestige depends on the extent to which we allow liberated Europe to copy our political democracy. It is the first step toward creating trust—the primary condition of a European organization in which, with the sympathies of the smaller powers balanced between East and West, Russia's vast resources will be a contribution, not a threat.

*London* MAURICE EDELMAN

# Journey in America: VII

*This is the seventh of a series of articles showing what is being done—and left undone—in various regions of the United States to prepare for the problems of peace. In his final article Mr. Mezerik will discuss Montana and Detroit.* – THE EDITORS

SEATTLE, WASH. – In Seattle everybody has a postwar plan. No one relates his plan to the next man's. Committees meet, talk, and meet again. Everyone sincerely hopes for peace, but there is fear and worry about what the end of the war will do to this inflated and newly developed area. Today Seattle is bursting at the seams, with 475,000 people crowding its housing, paying high prices for poor food and services, and jamming the buses and streets. Ships load men and material for Alaska and for Asiatic warfare. Men and women work day and night building ships and the great Boeing B-29's and Flying Forts. In the country back of here the agricultural population works overtime to produce food; and the lumbermen, acutely conscious that wood is the great critical material, press for more and more cutting of the big trees.

The vague plans being made by business men and labor alike grow out of the vision of what will happen when all this bustle suddenly ceases. Most people wash out the shipyards, say they will close down. Boeing, they think, will hold only 10 to 15 percent of its present staff, and if Boeing has any postwar production plans other than for planes, no one has heard of them. The contraction in these two industries alone would create a full-scale problem. Yet George Comstock, manufacturer and former president of the Chamber of Commerce, says that the many small shops which grew from a few employees to 100 or more each, are in equal danger. Comstock cannot see how these small operators who have so little capital can compete with the better equipped East with its superior know-how, distribution and marketing facilities. All this doesn't add up to a feeling of complacency, particularly in a community where only 25,000 unemployed created, not too long ago, a situation so jittery that armored cars patrolled the streets and machine guns were mounted on the public buildings.

Yet there is a peculiar and hopeful quality to counteract this discouraging vista. Though the people think in traditional terms, they also dream big dreams. It seems as though everyone has a hard substratum of caution. But once the conservative has thoroughly mulled over all the dire practicalities, a curious thing happens. On top of that hard and rather reactionary substratum billowy clouds of imagination form, and shortly the very prophets of despair have talked themselves into enthusiasm. It is at that point that they open their sentences with, "I don't want to sound like the Chamber of Commerce, but this is going to be the greatest place in America," and then proceed to give you their particular dream of the future and their plans for enlisting others to help make it come true.

A manufacturer is forming a research institute. He sees here the Northwest's first solution. A banker proposes a cross-sectional organization of business, labor and everybody else, to provide guarantees on loans to small business. An investment banker has had an architect draw up plans for a floating airport to be moored out in Lake Washington, 10 miles from the center of the city. Seattle will be the air capital of the world, he says, repeating what I have heard in Denver, San Francisco, Portland and Oklahoma City, about each of them. Here, not content with proposing the first and only floating airport, the plan includes its financing by the federal government, an extension of the rivers-and-harbors-improvement idea. Just to show they are serious, this banker and a few of his friends are forming a company to carry freight, mail and passengers by air, connecting all the little towns on Puget Sound with Seattle.

The supplying of goods and materials to Alaska was responsible for this city's growth, in a ten-year period, from a population of 80,000 to one of 200,000. Seattle

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people know the value of shipping trade, and to a man are convinced that the future belongs to the Pacific rim. This notion has gone so far that I found that people were taking exception to my reference to this area as the Pacific West. "This is a misconception," I was told. "This is the Pacific East. We are on the east coast of our empire, the countries which border the Pacific Ocean." Labor shares all of these hopes, and adds more.

The predictable result of all this is intangible. It does not emerge from a reading of any of the plans, yet in an effort to realize the future, people are thinking, people are dreaming and people are forming organizations which augur well. The State of Washington is in the process of organizing Memorial Town Halls. They are urging communities to commemorate the end of the war, not with guns and cannon on the front lawns of city halls, but by building an attractive community center dedicated to the continuous exchange of opinions and the making of plans by the people of the communities. The state has even submitted architectural drawings. This alone would be something; but much more important is the plan whereby the Washington State Planning Council organizes the community into committees which will undertake responsibility at the smallest local unit's level. These committees represent labor, employers, youth, the churches and every other segment of the population. It is their job to meet, propose plans for employment and keep in touch with their soldier relatives in all parts of the world, apprising them of plans discussed in their absence and learning from them their desires. The committee then proceeds to formulate the proposals which are to be sent on to the next higher level of government. I don't know how efficiently this set-up will work. It is too early to say. But surely this type of effort to organize a community on a vertical basis to take economic responsibility, and having taken it, to hold federal, state and city government accountable for their own responsibilities, would be a great contribution to our postwar democracy. In any event the effort is symptomatic of this beautiful country, where the men, though they may not yet match the mountains, do dream and plan in great vistas inspired by the lovely snow caps of Mount Rainier and the Olympic Peninsula.

*Vancouver, B. C.* – This is truly a frontier city. Not only do the forests come right up to the city's edges, but new and untried social experiments press at the older individualist patterns. Vancouver is a city of destiny in a city of ferment. The early settlers, Scandinavian and Scottish, left their own countries because they disliked the political and economic set-up there. They and their descendants have been experimenting with new political systems ever since. British Columbia was the first Canadian province to send a Labor member to the Ottawa Parliament. Here was the stronghold of the old Industrial Workers of the World, and today His Majesty's Opposition, the second strongest political party, is the Commonwealth Federation, a Socialist party. But the Socialists are far from meeting the desires of the more militant for drastic changes made quickly, and the Labor Progressive Party, a current label for the Canadian Communist group, presses them hard. Labor strength is great, and May Day, traditional day of clashes between the workers and the authorities, this year was addressed by a major general, while army bands played in the procession. In all groups there is a sensitivity to world social change; a mood reflected in the voting of a neighboring province which, earlier this year, became the first socialist state in this hemisphere.

All of these surges take place here inside of the sedate pattern of a British colonial possession whose ruling group remains apparently unperturbed. Assiduously and traditionally they dress for dinner and maintain the special atmosphere of ordered regulation which is the characteristic of the British everywhere. The conservative newspapers give equal front-page space to a labor meeting and the impending visit of

### Our Own Nostradamus

The sea is less confined than the river, the ocean more ubiquitous than the sea, but the air alone is fitted for a universal civilization. Its shores are everywhere; it can penetrate the poles; it will settle the wilds of Tartary and the valleys of Central Africa. It will know no harbors and no ports, no depots and no entrepots. It will make all parts of the earth alike passable and alike accessible. It will give us the victory over Russian continentalism. Freedom is now limited to the oceanic world, to England and America; Russia, with its continental dependencies, is despotic; it has no ships, and therefore no freedom; no freedom and therefore no navy; having no navy, it can never do great injury to the seafaring world. But its despotism gives it an army and its army will protect its despotism. The seafaring nations, on the other hand, have their navy to protect their freedom, but they will never have a large standing army to extend their system. To suppose this, would be to deny every leading characteristic of Americanism. This would keep the two halves of the world in a state of perpetual isolation, did not the navigation of the air restore them to a common element. American air-privateers will be down upon the Russian garrisons—to use our own expressive slang—"like a parcel of bricks"; and the Russian serfs will fasten to their skirts, and be elevated a share in their liberties. – *From "The New Rome, or The United States of the World," by Theodore Poesche and Charles Goepp. Published by G. P. Putnam and Company, New York, in 1853.*

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Princess Alice. The Board of Trade, the Socialists and the Communists are at one in their demand that western Canada industrialize and, because Vancouverites have little capital of their own, they insist that the investments in these plants be made by capitalists from eastern Canada and the United States. The Socialists seem a little confused at this point, for while urging foreign capital to invest, they simultaneously make the political promise that when they come to power the state will take over all industry, leaving the investor who believes both statements with quite a hurdle to jump.

British Columbia is a vast area. It has a population of only 900,000, with more than half of that total grouped in the two beautiful sister cities of Vancouver and nearby Victoria. In British Columbia's great stretches there are untold riches. Untold is not figurative, since no one really knows the full extent of the resources. Lumber is first in importance. Deposits of copper and ferrous ores are known to be great. This is only the beginning; agriculture, gold, water power, clays and springs for physical medicine, and a hundred other health and wealth producers are planned for and talked about. The newest discovery—medicinal clays and springs—leads Vancouverites, logically enough, to the conclusion that this will be one of the world's great health resorts. In Vancouver's estimate, not only will the sick of the world find their way here, but the healthy as well, because of the verdant and touching beauty of the snow-capped mountain country and the sparkle of the water in the sounds and the fjords. Lame and spry alike will come here to be made well, to work and to play, and, as Vancouver sees it, they will come by air.

Vancouver has a sound knowledge of the value of foreign trade. Its experts tell me that 80 percent of the peacetime economy was dependent on exports. For decades ships have been leaving here bound for Alaska and the Orient, loaded to the guards with products most of which are not grown, mined or processed here. Vancouver proposes to move beyond that stage. It wants to man the ships, for air and water, and then keep them supplied with products made right here. They have reason to be in a hurry, for estimates show a peacetime unemployed army of 137,000 coming up, as against 128,000 in the deepest valley of the depression. The high figure seems alarmist, for Vancouver has all the elements for a great future, with its hinterland, not over the mountains on the eastern prairies, but right out in front with the teeming millions on the Pacific rim.

Plans are in the making everywhere—in the Boilermakers' Hall, in the swank Hotel Vancouver, as well as in the dignified provincial capitol building in Victoria. Conservative, Socialist and Communist, all are big with ideas for the postwar world, and perhaps out of it will come a new American political and economic amalgam.

A. G. MEZERIK

# How Russia Finances the War

IN THE UNITED STATES the national debt is rapidly rising to astronomical proportions, and sooner or later the bulk of the bonds issued will drift into the coffers of banks and great corporations. Not long after the war the United States will have the greatest concentration of wealth in all history.

Russia has a socialistic economy. All production belongs to the state, to coöperatives or collective farms. The more that is produced, the more there is to divide. Russia doesn't worry about postwar unemployment, but rather about a labor shortage.

The Soviet Union has always had to spend huge sums on defense. It embraces one-sixth of the land surface of the earth, with frontiers stretching for 65,000 kilometers and bordering on 14 countries. After the European war broke out, the 1941 Soviet budget for defense was boosted to 70.9 billion rubles. When Germany attacked Russia in June, the amount was increased by 20.6 billions. Additional huge sums had to be spent for the evacuation of plants and the organization of new war industries.

The Germans advanced with startling speed, and a large loss of revenue from occupied regions resulted. Russia offset these losses by reducing expenditures on economic development by 21.6 billion rubles, and on cultural and welfare services by 16.5 billions. In occupying the richest part of Russia, Hitler expected to paralyze her finances. He was totally mistaken. Russia had long planned the allocation of her basic industries to prepare for just such an emergency, and had increased her agricultural yield through the collective-farm movement.

Russia fixed her 1942 war budget at 182.8 billion rubles. Of this, 108.4 billions went for war—297 millions a day. By 1943 the budget was increased to 209.7 billions, of which 124.7 billion rubles went for war. The daily expenditure increased to 340 millions. By 1943 the Red Army was smashing German defenses and recapturing territory devastated, plundered and burned by the Nazis. Enormous expenditures for reconstruction became imperative. The Soviet budget for 1944 was 249.6 billion rubles, with 128.4 billions allocated for war—roughly 350 million rubles a day.

How does Russia raise these huge sums? First, from funds accumulated by state-owned and coöperative es-

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tablishments on which the government imposes a turnover tax. Everything above the cost of manufacture belongs to the state. The wholesale price is determined by three factors: the actual cost, the turnover tax and the profit. The turnover tax varies widely. On tractors needed by farmers and coal needed by industry, the tax is not more than one percent. On liquor it is enormous.

The collective farms are taxed four percent on all produce used on the farms, such as seed and food, and also on the income received from sales to the state. The farms pay eight percent on revenue distributed to members, and on products sold on the general market. The 1940 receipts from this tax on coöperatives were 800 million rubles. In the case of other state-owned services, such as the transport system, there is a tax on non-commodity operations.

From 1938 to 1940, inclusive, the total income of the Soviet state was 450 billion rubles; the turnover tax brought 283 billions, and profits donated by economic enterprises came to 48 billions. This represented three-fourths of all the income.

In 1945 it is planned to obtain 148.6 billion rubles —61 percent of all the revenue—from these sources. During the war, industry has been able to improve its production techniques and reduce costs. In 1944 alone, this saved 35 billions.

The second source of the Russian budget is taxes on the population. A special war tax enacted at the end of 1941 provided for a monthly income tax. For war purposes, an annual income of up to 1,800 rubles is taxable to the amount of 120 rubles. The amount of tax is increased progressively: income between 9,600 and 10,800 rubles is taxed 1,020; income above 24,000 is taxed 2,700 annually. The tax on farmers ranges from 150 to 500 rubles a year. Persons of military age but exempt from service pay 50 percent more. Those in military service, their families, invalids, men over 60 and women over 55 are exempt. Up to 1944 this tax had brought in 33 billion rubles. Persons without children pay an additional six-percent tax; those who have lost a child during the war are exempt.

Third, voluntary donations by Soviet citizens almost equal the total receipts from income tax. Up to the present, monetary contributions alone amounted to more than 14 billions. Additional contributions of gold, jewelry and valuables, plus four billion rubles' worth of state loan bonds, have been made. The collective farms plant extra land and contribute its yield. In Georgia alone the extra land totaled 14,000 acres. Besides all this, people donate goods for the soldiers: the Kazakh people alone gave 1,600 carloads of gifts, besides two million winter garments.

Fourth, there are war loans. Thus far the government has floated three: the 1942 loan was subscribed to the amount of 12.9 billion rubles; the 1943 loan, for 12 billions, exceeded 20 billions; the 1944 loan exceeded 28 billions. Taken together, they produced 61.2 billion rubles. Up to the beginning of the war the total state loans totaled some 50 billions. Thus, during the war more was subscribed than in all previous loans combined. The state also sponsors lotteries, which have yielded some seven billion rubles.

Fifth, the burden of financing the war has been lightened by Lend-Lease from the United States, which has sent to the Russians roughly seven billion dollars' worth of goods—35 billion rubles at the official rate of exchange.

Naturally, since factories are working on military supplies, a shortage of consumers' goods exists. Government-rationed articles are sold at prewar prices, but on the open market prices are high. To control the open market, the government has recently opened commercial stores where articles can be purchased without coupons at high prices. These stores serve the double purpose of reducing prices on the open market and bringing back to the government the surplus funds of people. While relatively unimportant, these stores have nevertheless brought in hundreds of millions of rubles.

Russia's budget has thus been built on a sound economic structure. After the war her financial position will be strong.

*Moscow (by cable)* JEROME DAVIS

## Leave at Evening

So falls declining light across the monuments and fallen leaves,
Across cold granite façades long past their full flower,
Flooding the hard city with chill pallor of autumn twilight,
But now in departure beautiful as never at this hour.

Sharper each separate stone than for the first time seen,
Cathedral and bank silent as if already dead, but luminous and clear;
The restaurant doors revolving with bright faces you will never know,
And each face strange yet half-familiar, incredibly dear.

The light fades and traffic beacons flash amber and ice-green,
Street names significant at last, and memorable the newsboy's cry;
Now suddenly warm the bright impersonal windows of closed shops,
And suddenly intimate the people in the street cars that pass by.

But it is all lost, forever lost: the hour falls implacably
As falls the light, as would a curtain to a final act descend:
Whatever was not done that could have been is too late now;
Stranger, you are already gone, forgotten; this is the end.

T/SGT. FREDERICK EBRIGHT

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# Washington Notes

## Trust-Lag v. Power Politics

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT hoped to get the Dumbarton Oaks security-pact treaty before the Senate this winter or spring—and ratified—before explosive geographical questions—like Greece, Italy, Poland—were raised. Just as much as Churchill, he hoped for a Big Three meeting to straighten out international affairs. Stalin was the obstacle. Now the fat is in the fire. Meanwhile a military crisis comes on top of the biggest inter-Allied controversy of the war. To some degree these two may cancel each other out: they teach the Allies once more that iron necessity of co-operation. But Dumbarton Oaks is far from ratification.

Root of the inter-Allied trouble is what might be called the "problem of trust-lag." America won't join a collective-security organization until Europe puts away alliances, spheres of influence, "power politics." But Europe won't put these away until assured that the United States will join a collective-security organization. Each favors collective security—in principle. Each hopes some day it will make over the bad old world. But each distrusts the other. The situation is also complicated by inadequate information, war nerves, by men of bad will, by an all-around holier-than-thou tendency. While we are condemning Britain, the honorable leftist New Statesman and Nation of London finds our detached moralizing almost unbearable.

Every day I run into new instances of how ships and shipping are the key to much of our troubles. British spokesman Richard K. Law emphasized that after coming from his conference with Mr. Roosevelt. Ships are the military bottleneck in getting supplies to our armies. Ships are the bottleneck for taking to liberated regions food and coal, without which disorder is inevitable. In French ports, I learn, hundreds of ships—worth their nautical weight in gold—are now tied up, virtually serving as warehouses, when they ought to be rushing over more goods. Over-optimism not only made the German surprise possible in Europe; it caused diversion of precious ships to the Pacific, and the use of our transportation in a two-hemisphere war which Mr. Roosevelt initially opposed. The present big MacArthur push would hardly have been pressed if it had been thought the European war would last so long.

Time after time it is emphasized that the greatest spiritual contribution we can make to our soldiers is simply trying to understand their difficulties, their lives, what they are doing. I have seen soldiers black with anger at the front over breezy newspaper stories from home telling how the Yanks were "smashing forward" against "reeling enemies"; I have seen soldiers silent with frustration at home as nice, well meaning people asked them to "tell all about the front." Put yourself in the place of a GI during the new Nazi break-through, if he could have read the following banner headlines, eight columns wide, telling the story of the first six days. They are all from The Washington Star—big family newspaper—except on Saturday, when The Star didn't print, so Eugene Meyer's Post was substituted. Here they are chronologically: Monday, December 18: "Yanks Armor Strikes Back at Germans"; Tuesday: "German Drive Checked in Some Sectors"; Wednesday: "Initial Impetus of German Drive Checked"; Thursday: "Nazi Northern Push in Belgium Stopped"; Friday: "Germans' Thrust into Belgium Blocked"; Saturday: "Big Nazi Drive Stopped by Patton's Attack."

Moral: Give the American headline public what it wants. The real story was told by Drew Middleton in The New York Times (December 23): "The great German winter offensive smashed westward through Belgium unchecked today for the seventh consecutive day."

I watched Edward Stettinius unveil his new seven-man State Department team (seven, if you count Dean Acheson who is a holdover) and it was good fun. Nobody can deny the verve, pep, zip and ginger that white-haired, youthful Stettinius is putting into the staid old department. (Somebody unkindly has called it "Snow-White and the Seven Dwarfs.") Mr. Stettinius had a mass introduction of the group to the correspondents, which was probably closer than some of his new aides had ever got to the press in their lives, asked them to make 30-second speeches, and in general had them jumping through hoops. I thought I heard a dull thud from the next room as Stettinius asked Jimmie Dunn to make his "30-second" talk to the press: it was probably just the gilt picture of Nervous Nellie Kellogg dropping to the floor. There was a lot of laughter, a lot of good feeling, and I couldn't help believe it was a democratic procedure. Mr. Stettinius may, or may not, know anything about foreign affairs, but he is going to do his utmost to sell his department to the press, and Dumbarton Oaks to the public. It looks like a brand-new streamlined car, with lots of power under the hood and oodles and oodles of chromium on the outside. As to where it will go —well, that's another matter; my bet is that it will be Roosevelt, not Stettinius, who will hold the route map.

Sewell Avery—the gypsum king—has been advertising his phony Montgomery Ward case again. The bald fact here is that if the WLB can't get its orders enforced, then the whole wage-price-cost-control structure, which is the kingpin of the nation's wartime economy, goes down the chute. Outside of the thunders of editorial silence which greeted this new attack on America's war effort, in its initial stages, the breath-taking thing is Avery himself, and the place he occupies. This tall, slender, septuagenarian, who resembles Henry Ford, is so bleakly reactionary that even his own class fears him. In the city-traffic of modern thinking he is as out-of-date and dangerous as a 1905 electric runabout. And he has power—wealth and power.

Avery is probably the only man who is chief executive and biggest stockholder of *two* of America's 200 biggest non-banking corporations, Montgomery Ward and U. S. Gypsum. Gypsum (known in the trade as "Big Gyp") is one of America's great monopolies. A multi-millionaire, an ex-Liberty Leaguer, the Gypsum King would probably call FDR more dangerous than Hitler. Most American millionaires have by now accepted the income tax. Avery hasn't. He actually backs a thing called the "Western Tax

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Council," whose ambition it is to repeal the Sixteenth Amendment. This is the man who commands editorial silence—at the outset at least—when he inserts a series of misleading Montgomery Ward advertisements in the papers.

*Washington* T. R. B.

# The Case of the Hidden Camera

LIFE MAGAZINE reported last week (about two months after Leonard Lyons had) that sequences were made for "The Lost Weekend" in which the hero, Ray Milland, went about New York's Third Avenue among people who didn't know they were taking part in a movie. They didn't know because, as well as not being able to recognize Mr. Milland realistically made up, they couldn't see the camera crew and equipment, which were hidden in such places as the top of a theatre marquee and inside trucking vans. This hidden-camera maneuver for combining real and fictional lives is as well known as movies, but Hollywood could use it much more than it does—no matter how well the scenes turn out for "The Lost Weekend."

It would be one way of avoiding the unreal, mismated or lifeless details that now occur so often in people, scenery, action and atmosphere of scenes shot in the studio, and it's also a way to find out what the world is like, which Hollywood could use, since it has forgotten most of what it ever knew about the world. Also, it would be seeing the world through the eyes of a camera instead of through those of a novelist or playwright, upon whom it is increasingly dependent for its conception of the world. The movies nowadays turn up fewer and fewer aspects of the world that can be best shown by the camera, and instead get more and more of what novelists like to think about. Besides, they rely too much on their past work for symbols of the real world, though the symbols long ago became stale knowledge to audiences. Making fiction films in a close union with real life and out in the real world isn't the only way to make movies, and it is only a means. Whether a movie is made inside a studio or in the middle of a city street, it is obviously going to be only as good as the skill, intelligence, purpose and honesty of its producer.

Hidden cameras can be used to make actuality serve as the whole material of a fiction film scene or just as environment and secondary material around planned and rehearsed central action. If your plot called for some action inside of a department store the normal activity of the store could be got by sending trained actors into it to carry on a planned business with an actor-clerk. Nobody else in the store need become conscious or self-conscious of this business, since the camera man has been slyly concealed inside an ingeniously made store dummy and is recording everything from there. In this case the fictional business would be provided with the kind of life that ought to go on around it. The sides and backgrounds of modern movie scenes are at rare moments as good as they are in Sturges movies but are generally so dead and vapid and without accident that the action seems to have been played in a bottle.

There are all kinds of tones in an actual event, whereas it is very difficult to get anything but primary effects in studio productions. Also, beyond secondary effects, the marvelous illustrative capacity of the camera could be used at times in fiction films with an effect that would lift you out of your seat. If you wanted a picture of race prejudice you could send a Negro actor into a Southern bus with only one action to perform—he would sit down in a section where only white people are allowed to sit. What followed would be entirely spontaneous and approximately predictable. The value of the material would depend on how, why and where it was used in the movie, and on how well the director understood the situation and what he was about in using it, and even more, perhaps, on how much he knew about the artistic possibilities of the movie medium. Creativity in using the camera is not confined to recording an already created, rehearsed and planned action; film creativity is in the selection of the camera possibilities right for the purpose.

The difficulties involved in photographing with concealed cameras include the problem of hiding oneself and a camera sometimes even bigger. If you are hidden, you can't get around much or fast, so that your view and range are restricted. There would be all kinds of trouble with lighting (but you could hardly do worse with that than Hollywood does right now); there is the problem of sound and getting people's permission to use their stores, trains, homes and selves for movies. However, the solution of these difficulties (and others) requires only ingenuity, and with a normal amount of that, using real-life scenes shouldn't be so hard, expensive or frantic as using some of the dodges thought up in studios for simulating real life.

MANNY FARBER

# Science and Technology

## The B-29

THE ARMY AIR FORCES released some of the facts about the B-29 the other day, and I went along to have a look. The B-29, as you may have heard, is the most powerful bombing airplane on earth. It flies higher, faster and farther than any other bomber now in existence, though undoubtedly it will be outstripped by new ones yet to come. It flies so far that it actually goes on a single mission from one climate into another, and therefore has to be prepared for tremendous ranges of humidity, heat and cold.

Everything about this plane lends itself to superlatives. More men and more money are being employed on the B-29 than on any other instrument of warfare in the history of the world. General Arnold and the other men who worked with him to plan this mighty engine of destruction had spent or earmarked $3 billion before a single B-29 took to the air. When the first one to do so crashed immediately, killing every man on board, you can imagine how those responsible for the new ship must have felt. Seven hundred and fifty engineers worked for two years designing the new plane. Eight million man-hours went into her plans. Even today, when she seems to the layman like a triumphant success, a thousand engineers are at work making alterations in her design, and already about a thousand new improvements have gone into mass production.

Speaking of that production, two of the plants which turn

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out her 2,200 horsepower Wright Whirlwind engines between them cover a floor space equal to 275 football fields. The four assembly plants in various parts of the country have many thousands of workers. One of these plants, in the Middle West, performed the practically miraculous achievement of turning its assembly line from B-17's to B-29's *without stopping*. The first plant to go into mass production did so while the plane was still in the experimental stage. Man-hours per ship have gone down, in the short time the B-29 has been in mass production, from 157,000 to 50,000, with 30,000 expected soon. Not counting rivets or other minutiae, a B-29 has 55,000 numbered and identified parts. They go into a ship originally intended to weigh 27,000 pounds, which has gone up by slow stages to an operational weight of 63,000 pounds, of which, on shorter flights, as much as 20,000 pounds may be bombs.

You may have read that the B-29 has a "pressurized" cabin for her crew—that is, one in which the air pressure is that of the ground level, or more probably, that of 6,000 or 8,000 feet, even while the plane is flying in the rarefied atmosphere of 30,000 feet or more. Perhaps you thought the designers were being pretty nice to the crew. On the contrary, it was a matter of grim necessity to pressurize the B-29, and a terrible job it was, too, when every gun vent, bomb-bay door or other aperture of any sort had to be made practically airtight without interfering with its workability. The B-29, which flies 3,000 miles or more on a single mission, requires a long ordeal in the air for her crew. Nobody could fly this distance in a heavy, electrically heated suit, using oxygen, without becoming completely groggy. If the gunners had to curl up in a plastic bubble with a hand-operated machine gun, they would be too tired to hit anything, least of all a Jap Zero coming in for the kill at 400 miles per hour. Incidentally, the B-29 flies so fast that no gunner, nor any two of them, could hold a machine-gun barrel steady if it were exposed to the slipstream.

Therefore the designers went to work. With a series of mechanisms which I shall describe in a moment, they have made it possible for the entire crew, including all the gunners, to sit comfortably, in light clothing, in a cabin where warm fresh air is circulated constantly at low-altitude pressure, and do their work under conditions which allow maximum freedom from fatigue.

The first of these mechanisms is a system of remote firing-control. Scattered about the ship are five gun turrets, each mounting two machine guns which can be pointed anywhere in slightly more than a complete hemisphere. There are also five plexiglas blisters which are sighting stations for the gunners. Both the gun turrets and the sighting stations are so arranged in the nose and tail of the ship and above and below, as to give complete visibility and complete firing range from every point at every moment. Indeed, the fire of several turrets can be concentrated upon any enemy fighter, approaching from no matter what angle. Although normally each gunner controls only one turret, an electronic device permits him, in a split second, to take over the guns of one or more additional turrets. He could do this if one of the other gunners were knocked out, or merely if, because of superior visibility or for any other reason, he could make better use, temporarily, of the other man's guns. About thirty of these combinations of gun turrets in series are possible.

This is remarkable enough; but it is only the beginning. The B-29 has an unparalleled accuracy in its aerial guns, and this is no accident. In the Pacific area 14 bombing missions were completed before the first B-29 was shot down by an enemy fighter plane. On one occasion a single Superfortress fought off 79 fighters in a four-hour running battle, shot down seven, and returned safely home. The shooting is so good that on some recent raids, Japanese fighter pilots have been seen to bail out of their planes just before coming within range.

This record has been achieved as a result of a new mechanism, the electronic computer. Firing a machine gun from one rapidly moving airplane at another presents some complicated problems. For example, if the enemy plane is 800 yards away and is going 400 miles an hour, a bullet fired point-blank will miss its target by 110 yards. If the B-29 is going, say, 300 miles an hour, it creates a wind which by itself will deflect the bullet by 35 yards. Gravity will pull the bullet down by more than 13 feet. Moreover, the gunner and his gun may be far apart, since the B-29 is tremendously long (the distance between its wing tips is greater than the total distance the Wright brothers *flew* at Kitty Hawk). Therefore, if the gunsight and the gun were exactly parallel, the bullet might miss the enemy plane for this reason alone. Finally, bullets act differently in dense air at low altitudes and thin air at high altitudes, and they are affected by temperature, which may go down to 60 below zero, even in the tropics, if you are high enough.

All these problems are met by the electronic computer with the utmost accuracy and with, literally, the speed of light. Perhaps I can illustrate the operation with a hypothetical dialogue between the gunner and the machine:

GUNNER: We are traveling at 31,000 feet altitude, temperature 40 below zero. Please take account of these two factors in everything you do.

MACHINE (is silent).

GUNNER: We are traveling 300 miles an hour, and the enemy gunner is traveling 400 in a different direction. Take account of these two factors also.

MACHINE (says nothing).

GUNNER: Take account also of the pull of gravitation, wind resistance on the bullet, and the distance between my eye and the gun turret which is a number of yards away.

MACHINE (gulps; or at least, I should if I were in its predicament).

GUNNER: Make all these various calculations simultaneously and instantly and keep on making them as long as required, so that whenever I fire these guns, the bullets will be 99-percent certain to hit their mark.

The machine, which is a black square box the shape of a big suitcase, covered with dials, with heavy wrapped cables protruding like the tentacles of an octopus, says nothing. It responds only with a slight whirring noise like a time bomb, which, come to think of it, is approximately what it is. But it delivers the goods.

I saw a demonstration of this whole mechanism. It was in the Jade Room of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, the last word in beauty of design and decoration, which seemed a rather odd place to display the last word in man's huge ingenuity in destruction. Even in the Jade Room there wasn't room for an entire B-29, but they had set up a couple of turrets, a sighting device and one of those super-

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competent Quiz Kids of the world of machines, the electronic computer. The demonstrator from the General Electric Company, which worked out this instrument, sat down on a bicycle seat behind the sighting device, a complicated mass of openwork mechanism rising about five feet from the floor, like some oversized, black-painted Erector set. His head was lost to view among the cogs. I knew that he had in front of him a ground-glass screen on which appeared a circle of luminous red dots. He had already determined the size in feet of the hypothetical Jap plane he saw approaching, and set a dial in accordance with that size. He had also set dials some time earlier to record altitude and the temperature outside the plane. Now, the data on speed of his own ship having been fed into the machine, he needs only to keep the image of the Japanese plane within the circle of luminous red dots, its greatest horizontal diameter just touching the dots on either side. He presses the trigger and the mechanism does the rest.

The sighting device, gunner and all, revolves freely in every direction. As it does so, the gun turret, ten feet away, and connected only by wires, moves with it, instantly and perfectly, down to the minutest fraction of an inch. If two or three turrets scattered about the stage are locked into circuit, all of them follow the gunner's slightest movement. It is a strange spectacle to see a gunner and two or three turrets at work, the turrets swinging their long, heavy black machine-gun barrels, set in pairs, in absolute synchronization with the sighting mechanism and with the will of the gunner, who seems a mere wisp of frail humanity amid these massive and deadly machines. It is a little like the elephant trainer in the circus who makes a row of his giant pets stand simultaneously on their hind legs, except that the elephants seem bulky and flabby and these machines are compact and deadly. They are like so many black-widow spiders, if you can think of spiders five feet across, with rigid front legs from which a man can hang suspended. (To show us the power of the electronic control, a man does hang from the gun barrels and is flirted through the air, jerking back and forth, as the gunner swings them up, down and sideways.)

Perhaps most astonishing of all is to see the gunner draw his own bead on a target, doing his human best, with the computer cut out. Then, with a flick of the little finger, he cuts the computer in. Instantly there is a hiccup and jerk, as all the turrets simultaneously correct the bad aim of the mere blundering mortal, whose very best seems fearfully incompetent by the standards of electronics.

Since each pair of guns has an area of fire greater than a hemisphere, some of them sometimes point at a part of the airplane itself. For instance, the upper midships turret has part of the tail assembly of the Superfortress within its range. But the computer in its squat black box is equal to the occasion. Let us suppose the guns are firing (800 bullets a minute, or about 13 a second) at a plane in the rear, and are swinging from left to right past the tail. As they come to the fraction of an inch of the range where they might cut into the fabric of their own ship, they automatically stop firing. As they come to the fraction of an inch where they can shoot past the tail, they start firing again. To swing the guns through a 180-degree turn needs only two seconds, so you can imagine how rapidly this process of interrupting the fire is carried out. But this is not all. The two guns are mounted parallel and a few inches apart. In order to lose as little time as possible, as the guns swing from the left toward the tail, the right-hand gun cuts out a fraction of a second earlier than the left-hand one, and as they emerge into the clear field again, the right-hand gun resumes firing a fraction of a second before its mate.

The gunner in his plexiglas blister is also within range of his own guns. He might, for example control two turrets and be seated between them, so that the guns behind him, if he were shooting straight forward, would blast his own head off. The engineers consider this undesirable and so do the gunners. Therefore they have called in the squat black box again. When the guns, pouring forth their stream of bullets, come within a couple of inches of the plexiglas blister, the muzzles are elevated and they etch with bullets a flattened semicircle in the air, thereafter resuming their level course. No bullet is more than a couple of inches from the gunner's bubble; but none is any less. This process, also, is only a small fraction of a time interval of a couple of seconds.

Even an amateur strategist like this writer can see there is substantial importance in the B-29 and the still greater ships that are to come. It is true that defense always tends to catch up with offense; and it is also true that the advocates of victory through air power have been bitterly disappointed by the failure of our planes to knock Germany out of the war. At the same time, we now have a situation where the B-29's can do a lot of damage. Experience over Japan has shown that they are nearly invulnerable to fighter attack. They can operate with precision at heights where enemy ack-ack is relatively ineffective. They carry heavy bomb loads. And we are building them in very large quantities.

I wish, when the Senate comes to debate the Dumbarton Oaks plan, that the facts about the B-29 could be put into The Congressional Record. For if we can build them now, so, sooner or later, can our enemies. BRUCE BLIVEN

# The Bandwagon

It is a pleasure for us to express equal praise and gratitude for the generosity of the head of the State, the Government and people of Spain, and the Governments of Ireland, Argentina . . . who have vied with one another in noble rivalry of brotherly love and charity, of which the echo will not resound in vain through the world. – *From Pope Pius XII's Christmas message, as quoted in The New York Times.*

"We shall have prohibition in the United States and throughout the world, but it may not come until Christ makes His second advent to the Earth." – *Mrs. Bessie Lee Cowie, international lecturer for the WCTU, quoted in The Los Angeles Times.*

. . . Florence Bates has her own cure-all for juvenile delinquency. Says if mothers would bundle up their young and sew them into long red flannel underwear for the winter, as she was sewed in as a girl, there'd be much less talk of delinquency. – *Hedda Hopper in her syndicated column.*

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Under the headline, "All Things in Moderation," the German army propaganda newspaper, Skorpion West, has reported that all Nazi soldiers, regardless of rank, are authorized to liquidate commanding officers who order retreats.

"This privilege must not be abused," the newspaper added. – *UP dispatch to The Chicago Sun.*

### Brave New World

We're convinced that if we Americans go to war every time the map is redrawn in Europe, with some boundary shifted or proposed to be shifted a few miles, we shall be damn fools.

Which is to say that we look for a strong comeback of isolationism, or America First, in the country sooner or later—quite possibly before the 1948 presidential election—and that though we isolationists took a hell of a beating in 1944 we're a long way from being down and out for good. – *From an editorial in The New York Sunday News.*

### Blessed Be the Poor

PRIVATE CHARITY
LAUDED BY BARUCH
At Federation Breakfast He Calls It Essential
to the Preservation of Capitalism

– *Head and subhead in The New York Times.*

*Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

# Correspondence

## Why We Fight

SIR: The army shows us a series of pictures entitled "Why We Fight"—including "The Battle of Britain," "The Battle of Russia," "The Battle of China" and "The Negro Soldier." For some time I was almost deluded into believing that we were fighting for the dock hands and mill hands in England, the farmers and builders of Russia, the coöperators and freeholders in China, the Negroes and all the minorities in the United States.

But, no—we're fighting *against:* against Republican hopes in Spain, against the FFI in France (de Gaulle is too radical—because of prodding—but then he is the lesser evil), against Italian workers, against the EAM, against Tito (though we are reluctantly reconciling ourselves to the movement he fronts, for want of someone else to dote on), against Russia, against the Belgian people, against the Chinese Communists, against the people of India (and what'll we do when we take Germany?); we're fighting against the Negro, the Nisei, Wallace, Littell, the MVA, Bretton Woods. The pattern is all too definite—Britain in Western Europe, Russia in the East, the United States playing stool pigeon, and unity trampled and forgotten.

Who's the "we"? Not the people—they did pretty well in the election. Whoever the "we" is, "we" must be a hateful crew—and "we're" very international, powerful and stubborn.

So I'm a disillusioned youngster—a young, cynical kid—just a lousy medic. Edmund Wilson, Hemingway, Dos Passos and Cummings were medics in the last war—and look how they turned out. What does one do? I dunno anymore. At least you occasionally mope like I'm doing right now.

No, it won't be Wallace in '48, but it will be Spain again in '54, and I'll be there—as a medic. The cycle will have ended and begun; the battle never ends. PVT. H. D.

## Death on the Highway

SIR: In a recent issue of The New Republic there is an article by M. M. Stearns on "Our Mounting Traffic Troubles." It is an extremely well written piece and Mr. Stearns covers practically all the usual angles connected with this gruesome business of death on the highway. Furthermore, most of his recommendations for the improvement of existing facilities for dealing with the problem are sound. Nevertheless, if we are to believe Mr. Stearns, there is no apparent remedy in the foreseeable future. . . .

I do not intend to belittle Mr. Stearns's contribution beyond saying that it is a philosophy of pure defeatism. It offers almost no hope for a remedy (partial or otherwise) for years to come. It coincides with the viewpoints of most so-called traffic experts, including the Automotive Safety Foundation and the National Safety Council. I am not a traffic expert and therefore make no claim to a ready solution, but I will not believe that there is no solution (partial or otherwise) except the one outlined by Mr. Stearns.

I would like, therefore, to address him a few questions.

*First.* – Do you, Mr. Stearns, believe that highway fatalities have reached a point where they should become a matter of national concern (and action) as opposed to concern (and control) by individual states? To be more specific, I mean to ask you if this business of death on the highway is not of such magnitude that a joint committee of Congress should be made aware of the problem? . . .

*Second.* – Is it conceivable, Mr. Stearns, that the motor-car manufacturers are guilty of contributory negligence in connection with death on the highway? Is it not a fact that the average prewar car produced by the manufacturer and sold to the American public had a high-speed potential of about 85 m.p.h. as opposed to an average nationwide legal top speed limit of 50 m.p.h.? Is it not also true that because of "styling," visibility, which I conceive to be of major importance as a safety factor, has been greatly decreased? . . .

*Third.* – Finally, the problem, regardless of the faults of the manufacturer which should in no case be overlooked, boils down to the individual, and there's the rub. The individual constantly bellyaches about his freedom; that's what he says he is fighting the war for. He wants freedom to drink his whiskey, or not, as he pleases. He wants freedom to take this lovely but dangerous instrument out on the highway and see just how fast it will go. Now I say let him have his freedom to kill or be killed, but let's make him pay for that freedom. First, let him pay by compulsory insurance—and I mean "compulsory" for every driver. Second, when he kills or maims or destroys property, *let him be judged guilty until he can prove his innocence.* Do I hear you say that this is contrary to our accepted ideas of jurisprudence? So it is. And so is death on the highway at the hands of a willful or inexperienced driver contrary to God's law.

*Wilton, Conn.* GEORGE VAN RIPER

SIR: Mr. Van Riper is rather severe in attributing such defeatism to the Safety Experts. To charge them with inability to see any great chance for improvement in the *immediate* future, rather than the *foreseeable* future, would be more accurate.

Answering his questions: Highway fatalities have most cer-

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tainly reached a point of national concern—but whether remedial measures should be from the federal standpoint, rather than from that of the separate states, is debatable, and the answer depends on one's political point of view. Since permanent betterment in highway use depends primarily on popular acceptance of greater safety requirements, it cannot be obtained by the mere passage of a cure-all law, on either the state or national level.

Next: It is true that automobile manufacturers have developed cars capable of far greater speeds than state driving laws allow; that capacity is an asset, which can be abused, just as airplanes have been used as instruments of destruction. Praise, rather than blame, is due the manufacturers for it. They may also, in response to popular demand, have made cars affording less than the maximum visibility—although few people understand that lower bodies, less liable to tip over, and lessened wind resistance, rather than mere "styling," are largely responsible for this.

Third: Rather than overturning our accepted ideas of law and justice, by adjudging drivers involved in fatal accidents guilty until proved innocent, it should be possible, merely by applying existing laws, equitably and impartially, *instead of favoring motorists, as mere accidental killers,* to obtain a great improvement.

I personally go much farther than most of the real safety experts in believing that at least an approach to a panacea is available in greatly stiffened driver-requirements, with reasonably good judgment, good self-control and a definite sense of personal responsibility, as well as skill, demanded of all motorists. Free use of license suspensions and revocations, with improved drivers' examinations, would soon reduce highway accidents.

*New York City* MYRON M. STEARNS

## Successful Political Organization

SIR: Liberals of the nation should be heartened by the recent political achievements of a young organization of independent voters working primarily in Chicago. The IVI—Independent Voters of Illinois, Inc.—decided early that it would concentrate its election efforts in closely contested congressional districts where independent votes really counted. Of the ten congressional districts into which Chicago is divided, four were considered safe for the Democrats, one had remained Republican even during 1936 and 1940, and there were five in which the independent votes could be decisive. On November 7 these five districts, in which the IVI was the center of independent activity, voted solidly for internationalist Democratic Representatives, supported Senator Lucas and overwhelmingly repudiated Stephen A. Day.

The IVI's strength lies in the following factors:

1. The IVI mobilized a strategic group to which no other political organization in Chicago could successfully appeal. Leaving industrial workers to the PAC, registered Democrats to the Kelly machine and diehard Republicans to their fate, the IVI activized the independent middle class.

2. In contrast to the party machines, which organize their workers by wards and precincts, the IVI places emphasis on the congressional district and "the political neighborhoods," a new concept closely akin to the sociological concept of a natural community, in that it consists of from eight to twelve precincts fairly homogeneous in economic and racial composition. The idea so simplified and improved political organization of "amateurs" in Chicago that it was quickly adopted by some of the unions working with the PAC.

3. In line with the emphasis on political neighborhoods during the campaign was the IVI's encouragement of parlor meetings at which groups of neighbors—20 is the optimum size—gathered to hear an IVI speaker discuss campaign issues.

4. Through these parlor meetings, and by other means, the IVI recruited 6,000 bell-ringers who nightly covered Chicago.

5. These workers developed such zeal for the kind of direct political activity they found possible through the IVI that many of them, during the campaign, began looking beyond November 7. As a consequence, the IVI is now making plans for its immediate future activity as a permanent organization.

6. The IVI did all this on a limited budget of $41,000, obtained almost entirely through small individual contributions. Through hard work, ingenuity and emphasis on facts, the IVI's staff turned out leaflets on the candidates' records and attitudes, with information that was not generally available anywhere else in Chicago.

All this happened in the heart of organized reaction, the home of The Chicago Tribune, of the Kelly machine and of such influences as Sewell Avery. If it can be done in Chicago, it can be done anywhere.

HAROLD KATZ
GERDA MARTIN

*Chicago, Ill.* Independent Voters of Illinois, Inc.

## From a Well Wisher

SIR: When my last subscription to your magazine expired I decided to stop my subscription and depend on the public library for my weekly supply of a feast of facts and a flow of truth and a stream of inspiration, for I had reached the age of 80 and finally retired on a meager pension from all active labor. . . .

My vivid memory of the first copy of The New Republic I saw in 1916 will last me to my grave. It sent a thrill through me that has never ceased to vibrate. I remember the bold outburst of indignation during the peace negotiations when you printed in bold type on the outside cover, THIS IS NO PEACE, or words to that effect. I have been a constant reader ever since. . . . But as winter is coming on and I have to hire a cab to go to the library weekly, I accept your liberal offer and enclose check for $2, which will, I hope, carry me to the end of the war and the beginning of the permanent peace.

*Bryan, Tex.* A. W. KINNARD

## *From The New Republic Mail Bag*

We have received several letters in regard to George Soule's article on "Universal Service" [The New Republic, December 4].

Gerbert Rebell, of Columbus, Georgia, is of the opinion that compulsory peacetime military training would be undemocratic in the sense that "the legitimate control exercised by the democratic community goes no farther than a control of predatism. It can prevent a man from dealing unfairly with his neighbors, but it cannot force him to join a venture which his neighbors deem profitable." Mr. Rebell is concerned for the time when conscientious objectors to a peacetime draft will have to be imprisoned for their political beliefs, and the way will be opened for political intolerance in the courts.

Edward S. Allen, of White Plains, New York, feels that Mr. Soule's argument for postwar conscription as a measure of defense can be justified only if we distrust Great Britain and Russia, and that such an open expression of distrust would alienate rather than unite the international community after the war. "The decision to militarize our youth in peacetime would induce like measures in many other lands, would undermine world confidence, and would thereby lessen that security against war which it is supposed to create."

A soldier in a Texas army camp points out that under universal service workers might be subject to military conscription for use in breaking strikes of their own fellow workers, and comments: "You're pro-labor, so let's be consistent in our [your] pros and cons."

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# Books in Review

## Reading and Writing

THE CANONIZATION of Alfred, Lord Tennyson, which leveled off to a space for him in the standard textbooks equal to that given Shakespeare or Kipling was accompanied by a subterranean reaction that threw him in the dustbin with Longfellow and Shelley. It must, then, have required not only acumen but trepidation for Harold Nicolson and T. S. Eliot to write appreciatively in the mid-thirties of aspects of his poetry—previsions which W. H. Auden has duly recorded in the introduction to his recent selection[1] from the poet. It was Auden, in another incarnation, who wrote in an early poem:

> upon that southern island
> Where the wild Tennyson became a fossil
> Half-boys, we spoke of books and praised
> The acid and austere. . . .

Between the implications of these lines and the high praise of the act of the present selection, not to speak of the generous introduction, lies a startling shift in the taste of the contemporary intellectual, recorded by its most gifted, and possibly most symptomatic, talent—more startling than Eliot's and Edmund Wilson's appreciation of Kipling or Delmore Schwartz's discipleship to Wordsworth, at least in the heresies of the introduction.

At the close of an exciting, but unconvincing, comparison of Tennyson with Baudelaire, Auden says that the French poet "was right in seeing that art is beyond good and evil . . . but Tennyson was right in seeing that an art which is beyond good and evil is a game of secondary importance." What redeems this dangerous (to me, at least) exaltation of religion over art is that Auden makes it clear that if art is *secondary* in the scale of ethical values, it must not be *subservient*. "Tennyson," he says, "was a fool to write a poetry which would teach the Ideal," and thus sensibly parts company with almost all the others who would hold that art "is a game of secondary importance"—that is, most religionists, most upper and lower-case "humanists" and most Marxists. That art arises from the historical process, and in turn acts upon history, that art is a reflection of society, a criticism of society, is a weapon—all these well rubbed observations are inescapable to all but the hopeless formalist or literary medicine man. But that they do not wholly encompass the nature and essence of art is illustrated when, as in the classic case of Taine, an *artist* sets out to elucidate and exemplify them.

Rereading the Tennyson that Auden has chosen and reading fitfully in the "Complete Poems," one is readily persuaded that here are the important poems, challengingly introduced, in a rather handsome format (although the price is high and the paper could bear improvement after the war). There are a few early poems, abandoned in later editions by Tennyson and now accessible only in the fine-printed double columns of his one-volume complete poems, that might challenge the space here given to others. (I am immune to the "magnificence" that Nicolson found in the "Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington," and I feel quite certain that I am succumbing neither to chauvinism nor political heresy when I set beside it "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed" and watch it shrink to its sincere, priggish, political fatuousness as the flatulence seeps out of it.) The absence of the Arthurian idylls and the plays will disturb only the ghosts of Victorian professors, and the emphasis thereby given to the lyrics, to "In Memoriam" and "Maud," and to a new grouping of idylls on classical themes is all to the good.

Contemporary serious criticism has devoted much effort to the rediscovery of neglected or discarded writers: Donne and Melville, for example, have been elevated to classics only within the last thirty years. Rediscovery has now been overtaken by rehabilitation, if Auden's Tennyson, Eliot's Kipling, Albert Guérard Jr.'s "Robert Bridges," Krutch's Doctor Johnson, Wilson's rereading of Kipling and Dickens are to be taken as evidence. Dialectically, this is an interesting development; in place of the iconoclasm of the twenties, we have the popularly accepted icons subjected to a scrutiny that reveals new values, new meanings, and a polish that removes the patina of indiscriminate praise.

*No Sweetness, Some Light.*—Wisely recognizing the heroic proportions of the task of cleansing the Augean stables of modern capitalism on a world stage, Dwight Macdonald has applied a division of labor to the problem. In his monthly review, Politics, he centers his attack on the American, British and Russian varieties, on the assumption, perhaps, that the German, Japanese and minor national variations have had adequate attention from bourgeois and pseudo-radical critics. And correctly diagnosing the integral role of liberalism and progressivism in the imperialist stages of capitalism, he has ignored the obvious bulwarks of reaction in the field of communications to center his attack on the subtler defenders of privilege such as The New Republic, The Nation and PM. To vary an old formula, this is a rather strident performance of "Hamlet," with the title-character hidden in the wings.

*The Long-Underwear Boys and the Detective Story.*—The current spate of writing about the detective story in the "class" and highbrow magazines has reached the stage at which every literary discussion between the wars arrived: Bernard DeVoto has emerged at an advanced stage of the controversy to domesticate it for the readers of Harper's, and S. J. Perelman, after some years of floundering with an overworked formula, has returned to greatness with a brilliant parody of the Hammett-Raymond Chandler school ("Farewell, My Lovely Appetizer," The New Yorker, December 16). In addition to its being the happiest moment in the gabfest, it is, like his burlesques of the Russian

[1] A Selection from the Poems of Alfred, Lord Tennyson, by W. H. Auden. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 268 pages. $3.

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# BEHIND THE CRISIS IN CHINA—by Lin Yutang

Lin Yutang has accomplished what no American, and no Chinese of lesser stature, could have done. He has visited China, probed deeply into the bloody civil war between the Communists and Chungking, and returned with the first authoritative, dispassionate report to reach the American people. In it he reveals the full tragedy of the conflict . . . discloses facts, rigorously censored until now, that help explain China's present critical position. For the story behind today's China headlines read "The Civil War in China" by Lin Yutang in THE AMERICAN MERCURY for January

# WHY ENGLAND IS WOOING RUSSIA

In the Balkans . . . in Poland . . . in Iran, the British lion purrs softly to the Soviet bear as England lays plans to safeguard her empire. Why does England worry more about Russia's friendship than America's . . . how much will she concede to strengthen her Russian alliance . . . where will she draw the line? Let Andre Visson, veteran authority on foreign affairs, answer these questions and unravel for you many a puzzling diplomatic move. Read "Why England is Wooing Russia."

# THE AMERICAN MERCURY—for January—OUT NOW

It is no easy task to select the "headliners" among the intriguing articles in the January MERCURY. *De Valera's Ireland* is a memorable portrait of a troubled land ruled by a puritanical idealist using totalitarian methods. *Poison From Europe* is Francis Rufus Bellamy's terse label for Fritz Mandl, sinister armament figure from Austria, now in Argentina—a menace to the peace of all South America. Philip Wylie's *Memorandum on Anti-Semitism* is a Christian's stirring analysis of Jew-hatred—the sickness that breeds it, the food it feeds on, the disaster it leads to. *The Astrology Racket* takes you behind the scenes of an industry that pulls $200,000,000 a year out of the stars and the public's purse. *This Was Ziegfeld* is a delightful profile from the witty pen of Bernard Sobel . . . Discover for yourself half a dozen other thought-provoking articles in the January MERCURY—plus George Jean Nathan on *The Theatre,* Alan Devoe's fascinating *Down to Earth,* Fiction, Books and Open Forum.

## Mercury Authorship and Mercury Readership

Once again Mercury authorship and Mercury readership have proved themselves a combination that "makes things happen." When Emery Reves wanted to reach opinion leaders with his fresh and rather startling views on "How to Civilize Germany", he sent his article to THE AMERICAN MERCURY. Let Mr. Reves tell what happened after publication: "*. . . . newspapers commented editorially . . . some reprinted large portions of the article . . . a number of radio stations broadcast it. I heard that in an important government department it was the subject of lengthy discussions. One Allied embassy sent copies to its home office . . . another forwarded them to the nine governments in London, forming a committee to decide post-war policies toward Germany.*" What happened to the Reves article proves again what has long been recognized—THE MERCURY is the *magazine of opinion that makes things happen.*

Lawrence E. Spivak PUBLISHER

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novel, the Hollywood scenario and the theatre of Clifford Odets, an act of literary criticism which outdoes the professionals. For all the pleasure and instruction that the comments of Louise Bogan, Edmund Wilson, George Orwell and Chandler himself provided, in all their pieces I felt the lack of the proper tonal quality—an appropriate want of high seriousness—which Perelman has brought to the argument.

GEORGE MAYBERRY

# Watch and Ware

*Many a Watchful Night, by John Mason Brown. New York: Whittlesey House. 219 pages. $2.75.*

"MANY A WATCHFUL NIGHT" is not like "To All Hands," the previous volume by Lieutenant John Mason Brown, USNR, a collection of his broadcasts of navy battles. It derives from his experience as a broadcaster from the war scene shifted to the north, his direct observation of the American forces in Britain, his days on the Augusta waiting for D-Day to begin, the evacuated areas on the English south coast, the black-outs and the German air raids, the first days of the invasion, the hospitals, the Americans pouring in, and the Tricolor flying at last over the houses in France.

All the above could be taken from the jacket flap and is so taken more or less, for it is clearly indicated there. It remains for me to add that I am no authority on war books, having read but few of them. But one of two things is true of Lieutenant Brown's account. It is either far and above and out of class with most books written about this or the last world war, and from the way our Allies are arranging matters, very likely the next; it is either this or else all our writing about the war and in general has made an immense and thrilling advance in quality.

"Many a Watchful Night" is a book marked by a fine, distributed patience of attention, a certain noble sufferance, as it were, of what life is, and the times are, and the long, desperate and most human intentions must be, as discerned in this war effort, its statistics and its agonies. This is not a pessimistic book, for its faith in the young who die for this cause, whatever it may be, and in the army and navy, are the essence of loyal admiration and active, stimulating devotion. But it is a depressing book, because, first of all it is intelligent, and nothing blasts us so in wartime as an element of brains, coming as it may just at the moment when the Churchill type of prima donna is taking its bows, willy-nilly, so long as the clapping keeps up, before the international footlights. Any knowledge of the world, however, will regulate this kind of depressing reactions, heroes, hot-shots and silly fools, since history reeks with it. The real depression that ensues from this account of the war and its scene is that which ensues from a true and luminous and loving sense of life itself, the sad, passionate movement of men's behavior, that blind devotion of men that is the reality where logic, making so much sense, both biological and philosophical, is what really constitutes the illusion.

To put it more simply, we may say that "Many a Watchful Night" moves between two poles: the admiration and loyalty first of all to these young men and then to the Service, and second, the plea for life, that life may be lived with something of the glory with which we are capable of dying. Which means in this case ultimately that we must hope and work for a peace that will be worthy of the price paid, as shown in this account.

I cannot convey in lengthy quotation the great beauty and trust to which such thoughts as these arise in this book. It is almost absurd to quote a single paragraph, but I will do it just the same. It is but one out of many and doubtless not the best, who knows?

> Of all the ways in which war overrides and ignores what is individual in men, none is so hard to accept as the way in which, when it is too late, death recreates an individual out of someone who has fallen singly from the ranks In his loneliness by a foreign roadside, this man or that ceases to be Government Issue, a mass commodity produced by a mass response out of a mass need and hope. He once again becomes man's issue, and woman's too. He is one life cut short and scarcely tasted; with something of that life written on the mask which is now his face; with more written there than the form telegram can hope to express which will leave his family disconsolate with a sorrow beyond remedy, and the world how much poorer no one will ever know.

To turn now to lighter matters, though in the end quite as important, we must note the estimate we get of the English, sometimes in consecutive pages and sometimes scattered here and there. I cannot quote the entire chapter headed "Under an English Heaven," and so very likely had best not quote it at all. The topic of English-American relations is, as every orator announces, every statesman gambles on, and every true racial believer feels concerned over, a vital matter in the future of the world, at least of our world as we see it and live in it. Lieutenant Brown in all his interpretations seems to me more satisfying than most writers who have ever touched the subject. He quotes for an instant Emerson's "English Traits," but what he says on the British theme is much more intelligent, far less colonial and certainly less fulsome-fumbled than what Emerson has to say in this third-rate work; a goulash for lectures as any fool could see. (For intelligent and more or less, shall we say, as prejudiced a comment on the British Isles read Santayana.)

The comments on the English motif, as Lieutenant Brown makes them, shine for two reasons. They have not the chip on the shoulder that some of our American writers have, which is merely a form of semi-inferiority complex that a few dukes and Tories, if they had thought it worthwhile nodding, could have healed, as they have successfully done with certain columnists and with certain giants and leprechauns in Washington. On the other hand, Lieutenant Brown's account has not a touch of the colonialism that, to be oldish, writers like Henry James set a standard for, and that, I will say for the British, the British despise. (I can still hear Sir Edmund Gosse telling me how bored he and Balfour were when Henry James came up to say that whatever happened they must remember he was doubly English as they were, when nobody, as Sir Edmund said, wanted him to be doubly English.) It will be offensive, no doubt, to say so, and I hope the reaction will turn on me and not on the author of "Many a Watchful Night," but it must be noted, zoölogically at least, that nobody without a long background of British Isles behind him and the inherent tradition involved, could have written these lucid, brilliant,

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undisturbed comments on the British and the recent, multiple American contacts with them.

The impact of this notable book is, however, larger and more compelling than any such observations on my part could indicate. I should stress its intensity, its acuteness, its lucid rightness of response to what is experienced. Lest I do it an injustice, I will add finally that the sum of it comes back really, not to any violent, newsy recording or high spots of war and incident, but to that underlying ground that Wordsworth meant when he said the gods approve the depth and not the tumult of the soul. STARK YOUNG

# Past and Present

*Young 'Un, by Herbert Best. New York: The Macmillan Company. 271 pages. $2.50.*
*My Home Is Far Away, by Dawn Powell. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 313 pages. $2.50.*
*Wife to Mr. Milton, by Robert Graves. New York: Creative Age Press. 380 pages. $2.75.*
*Behold Trouble, by Granville Hicks. New York: The Macmillan Company. 340 pages. $2.75.*

TWO OF THESE NOVELS are remarkable because of the manner in which the need to return to a less uniform and mechanical age than our own, added to the complex demands of satisfying the reading public, produces an almost identical narrative solution. In "Young 'Un," the mother of the three young Post children dies and they are abandoned by their nomadic father to endure the rigors of a New England winter on their primitive farm. The story of their efforts to survive is given largely through the consciousness of a young girl. The locale is upstate New York and the time is about the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In "My Home Is Far Away," the mother of the three young Willard girls dies and the three are shifted through a series of cheerless semi-orphanages by their father, a traveling salesman, who, very much like Pa Post, is neither cruel nor conscienceless, but simply incapable of shouldering family burdens. Again, the vicissitudes are filtered through the mind of a young girl. The locale is small-town Ohio and the period about the turn of the present century.

These resemblances are, one would surmise, more than merely fortuitous, and tracking them down to their source would reveal much about the wellsprings of current fiction. In both novels, it is neither character nor story that is of fundamental import and greatest interest but simply the nostalgic recreation of the bygone social pattern. It seems, too, that in both, the young girl acts as a reagent imparting additional color and vividness to the description of such activities as ploughing a field with oxen, community house-building and spitting contests or, in the later period, county carnivals, singing from sheet music, and balloon ascensions.

The plots, then, are possibly developed out of the need of maintaining the child as the center of dramatic interest and the other characters fall into line accordingly. "Young 'Un" shapes up finally to a pretty little idyll of neighborliness and happy marriages. "My Home Is Far Away," superior in this respect, achieves toward the end a kind of Dickensian poignancy, that gives the Willard children an all too brief entrance into reality.

Both novels have a certain muffled vitality originating in a quite genuine feeling for the homespun. The failure of this feeling to break out into anything like artistic expression is visible through a similar flaw in technique. Both are written in the third person and perspective is allowed to fluctuate continuously between the mind of the child and the mind of the novelist, never for an instant coming to a full stop in either. Style, mood and meaning are weakened by ceaseless ambiguity. The problems of either sustained subjective penetration or objective detachment are evaded and the values lost.

Writing on a much higher rhetorical plane, Mr. Graves evokes the language and atmosphere of seventeenth-century England with the ease of a virtuoso. Again the perspective is through the eyes of a young girl—apparently, by common consent, the least opaque medium for the transmission of historic tableaux—who goes on to become the wife of England's foremost epic poet and, according to this account, a monumental boor, crackpot, turncoat and inflexible egotist. By having Marie Powell tell the entire story in her own person, Graves gets an unsullied uniformity of presentation and is enabled to offer some interesting sidelights on two wars: one between the Cavaliers and the Roundheads and the other between Milton and his wife.

In the latter, the poet is at a fearful disadvantage, since, while his spouse has been outfitted with all the virtues of seventeenth-century wit, charm and humanity, poor Milton has been so thoroughly boiled down to his harsher components that not only is there no genius left in the residue, but precious little decency, intelligence or even verbal ability. Although the absence of these elements makes one sufficiently suspicious of both portraits, it does not detract measurably from the sheer enjoyment of the icon smashing. The treatment of the period is in keeping, a piece of unsubstantial, if thoroughly delectable, entertainment for the literate.

In "Behold Trouble," a tormented conscientious objector runs amok in the mountains of upstate New York before being brought to earth. The exact genesis of the hysteria that causes Pierre Mason to defy his draft board, arm himself with a rifle, wound a young girl by mistake and hide in a cave to shoot it out with the world at large, never becomes quite clear despite the lengthy meditations on his past which ensue while he waits for his pursuers. And while the predicament of the conscientious objector in our society can be of the greatest moment, involving the most crucial dilemmas of our time, Pierre's

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misfortunes seem neither significant nor dramatic because they result neither from an internal conflict between opposed principles nor an external clash between his principles and those of society, but almost purely from neurotic vagaries.

Perhaps, because of the scantiness in his treatment of the main subject, Hicks has been moved to write what amounts to a second novel around it, for there is also included a detailed cross-section of the region in which the events take place. Though much of this is gratuitous, since it goes far beyond Pierre's effect on his neighbors, it nevertheless reveals Hicks as capable of unusually competent and straightforward realistic writing. In this novel, at any rate, his talent has been lavished on episodes that require some stronger principle of cohesion to make them fully effective.

WILLIAM FOSTER

# Pamphlets for Workers

JOHN T— represents a large international union. Working in Washington, he is close enough to the broader problems of the union to see how tremendous they are; yet, he is close enough to the workers themselves to see what a terrific job it is to interpret these problems to the rank and file, and to keep them abreast of what is going on. College-trained himself, his responsibility is to and for workers whose facility with the written word is very slight, workers with neither the time nor the energy for poring over economic expositions.

In my office the other day, John picked up a new union publication and exclaimed as he turned the pages, "Now, that's all right!" Wrapped up in that one phrase were both the impatience and the satisfaction which labor people themselves feel about union educational publications today. They are impatient because the problems are so great, and the tools given them for educating the workers about these problems are so few and have been so poorly suited to the job. They are impatient because in the race against catastrophe, worker education is moving so slowly. But the satisfaction is there, too, because the unions are starting to get the stuff out—and in form that workers can and will read.

Actually, the need is for two kinds of material: material for the leadership and sub-leadership to study, and material for mass education and mass distribution. The differences between them are obvious, but the general physical necessities are the same for both. Cartoons, simple diagrams and charts, large print and plenty of white space—these are the characteristics that get the worker's eye, and these are what the worker's eyes are getting.

Perhaps the outstanding attempt at a mass-distribution piece is "With Victory," the "comic book" on postwar stability recently released by the Research and Education Department of the CIO[1]. Eight pages of standard comic-book size, in color, indistinguishable at first glance from the newsstand product, the pamphlet is an attempt to put postwar planning on a factory-gate and lunch-box basis. The presentation is still somewhat formal and over-precise, but the technique is there—and the reception is excellent. Since the price is low (one cent per copy), the unions are able to carry to every local union member the CIO's concept of jobs after the war.

"The Cost of Living in Wartime," the report by Philip Murray and R. J. Thomas, is undoubtedly one of the outstanding studies of the subject ever made, either by a union or by any other agency. Its impact on thinking about the lives of workers and the effect of war conditions on their bread and butter has been of great significance. For union bargaining committees, for consumer leaders and teachers, for economists and classroom students, the report is a must. For those who want the over-all picture rather than detailed statistics, there is the companion piece, "How High Is Up?" 22 pages, 5½ cents apiece in lots of 100.

Probably every union has published or is publishing a pamphlet setting forth its own postwar program. The UAW-CIO has issued a number, each devoted to a

[1] The CIO Education Department releases a monthly bibliography to guide those looking for union education material. A request addressed to the CIO at 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C., will bring the bibliography to anyone who wants it.

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separate phase of its postwar plans. Among them are: "Fruits of Victory"—a full presentation of the economics of a full-employment economy; "The UAW-CIO Postwar Plan"—a simple 20-page presentation in attractive, readable form of the high spots of planning for peace and prosperity; and "Memorandum on Postwar Urban Housing."

In addition to the pamphlets on postwar plans, the unions are putting into the hands of their workers the facts about their own unions and their own economic status. The most recent of these is "Half a Million Forgotten People," the story of the cotton-textile workers, put out by the Textile Workers' Union of America, CIO. The effect of paying our largest (peacetime) group of industrial workers $9 a week less than the WPA Emergency Budget standards is discussed from the point of view of the living standards of the worker, the war-production program and the effect of the postwar employment situation. "Substandard Conditions of Living" is the full report of the study on which the cost-of-living aspects of "Half a Million Forgotten People" are based. As long as it is necessary to prove that workers need money to live, competent and exhaustive studies like this one will have to be part of the education arsenals of labor unions.

The two pamphlets listed immediately above came into existence as part of the Textile Workers' Union's case before the War Labor Board for a wage increase. Each of the other international-union cases before the WLB is providing its pamphlet of fact and discussion, usually based directly on the brief presented by the union. One of the most presentable of these is "Steel," published by the CIO from the Steelworkers' Union brief. It is well illustrated, with the arguments clear and sharply pointed. The pamphlet leans heavily on pictures and charts to get over the points made in the text. Here are seriousness and dignity, perhaps more than the average steelworker will feel like putting into the back pocket of his overalls. In the hands of a good educational chairman, however, the pamphlet should do much to make the economies of steel wages mean something to the rank and file, to put over the sense of what the International is up against and what it is trying to do.

Through the publication of these pamphlets there is being built up a literature of material about organized labor at the same time as it is being built for organized labor. The pamphlets should help, therefore, to bring the unions and their friends from outside the movement closer together than they have been in the past. Liberals can learn from these publications. They can help the cause of liberalism by introducing others to them, so that they may learn and understand labor a little better than they do. This is especially true of schools and colleges, YMCA's and discussion groups, and every other place where people gather for serious discussion.

SAMUEL JACOBS

## Contributors

ALVIN H. HANSEN, Littauer Professor of Political Economy at Harvard University and adviser to the Federal Reserve Board, is the author of "Full Recovery or Stagnation," "Fiscal Policy and Business Cycles," and co-author, with Harvey S. Perloff, of "State and Local Finance in the National Economy," published in 1944 by W. W. Norton.

MAURICE EDELMAN is a war correspondent for the English magazine, Picture Post, and a contributor to The New Statesman and Nation.

JEROME DAVIS has been living in Moscow and contributing articles to various newspapers and magazines.

T/SGT. FREDERICK EBRIGHT has, since his last appearance in The New Republic, returned to the States from the Aleutians area, where he was with the Army Air Forces for more than a year. His work has been included in Oscar Williams' anthology, "New Poems: 1944," and has also appeared in The Nation, The Atlantic Monthly, Commonweal, The Virginia Quarterly Review and other magazines.

WILLIAM POSTER is a free-lance writer whose book reviews appear in The *New York Herald Tribune*, *The New York Times* and The New Republic.

SAMUEL JACOBS is the liaison officer for the CIO in the Office of Price Administration in Washington.

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